Daily Report

East Europe

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Daily Report
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FBIS-EEU-95-237 *11 December 1995*

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Bosnian Serbs in London Seek Improved Accord

LD0912182295 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1728 GMT 9 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] London, 9 Dec (SRNA)—Jovan Zametica, adviser to the president of the [Bosnian] Serb Republic, confirmed today that the [Bosnian] Serb delegation at the London summit is actively involved in efforts to improve the provisions of the Dayton agreement, particularly those relating to the status of Serb Sarajevo.

"We discussed the issue of Sarajevo in a series of meetings with representatives of the EU, members of the Contact Group, the Foreign Office, and Bildt's team, and we made it clear that a better solution should be found before Paris," he told SRNA.

Zametica also said that the London summit will end this evening with the adoption of a final document and that the Serb Republic delegation will leave for Belgrade tomorrow.

Albanian Minister Addresses OSCE Conference

AU0812202395 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1900 GMT 7 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The fifth conference of the OSCE [Organization for Cooperation and Security in Europe] Council of Ministers opened in Budapest today. [passage omitted]

The chairman of the Albanian delegation, Foreign Minister Alfred Serreqi, took the floor at today's session. After assessing the OSCE's role, Minister Serreqi said that this organization is at present going through critical moments that have automatically created some suspicion. Among other things, the Albanian foreign minister said that this organization should pay special attention to problems of security of small countries. Serreqi went on to say that we consider the OSCE to be the only international forum at which these countries can get an answer to their problems and feel like an equal among equals. The disintegration of Yugoslavia has been the most serious blow to the OSCE, Serreqi stressed.

Closing, Albanian Foreign Minister Serreqi underlined the fact that Albania hopes the OSCE becomes stronger by laying more secure foundations. The conference continues its proceedings.

Romania Willing To Lead OSCE Mission to Bosnia

AU0812195795 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1100 GMT 8 Dec 95

[Report by Peter Wagner from Budapest]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Announcer] The fifth meeting of the OSCE [Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe] will conclude in approximately one hour in Budapest. Our special correspondent Peter Wagner reports:

[Begin Wagner recording] The third address by Romanian Foreign Minister Teodor Melescanu at the plenary meeting of the OSCE Ministerial Council, an address that took place in the morning session, referred exclusively to Romania's position regarding the situation in the former Yugoslavia. Romania, Teodor Melescanu said, has made known its willingness to participate in OSCE missions and operations in the area of former Yugoslavia and to assume the leadership of one of these missions. Likewise, Romania is ready to make a contribution to establishing an initial support fund of the OSCE engagement in this region.

Mentioning the existing favorable premises for the normalization of relations between the states of the region, Romania, the foreign minister said, has decided to develop relations with the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia more actively, establish diplomatic relations with Bosnia-Herzegovina, and raise the level of diplomatic representations in Belgrade and other capital cities of the countries in that region. The chief of Romanian diplomacy said: We wish for the historical reconciliation to become a viable institution within the pact of stability in Europe for the consolidation of good-neighborliness throughout the continent.

Assessing that it is necessary to recognize the losses our country suffered as a result of observing the embargo, Teodor Melescanu said that the program of economic reconstruction discussed in Dayton must be expanded to the entire southeast European space. [end recording]

[Announcer] Romanian Foreign Minister Teodor Melescanu will leave today for London in order to attend the final meeting of the London peace conference regarding the finalization of the peace accord concluded in Dayton.

Conference on International Law, Chechen Republic

LD0912145695 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1226 GMT 9 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Krakow, 9 Dec—An international conference entitled "International Law and the

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Chechen Republic" began today in Krakow. The three-day meeting is attended by scientists, lawyers, politicians, and journalists from, among others, the United States, Britain, Kazakhstan, Turkey, Switzerland, Belgium, Germany, Russia, and Poland.

Usman Imayev, chairman of the conference's organizing committee, said that discussions would focus on three topics: the influence of policies on the observance of human rights and norms of international law; contemporary procedures and mechanisms for observance of the norms of international law, especially at a time of military conflict; and, finally, on institutions responsible for maintaining international law and order.

Imayev let it be known that the conference, organized to mark the first anniversary of the Russian-Chechen war, would end with an ecumenical ceremony of mourning to commemorate the victims of that war to be held on the grounds of the Nazi concentration camp in Auschwitz-Birkenau.

The conference, organized by the Chechen Information Center in Krakow, is being held under the auspices of Krakow Mayor Jozef Lassota and City Council Chairman Stanislaw Handzlik.

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Meksi Briefs Bulgaria's Zhelev on Reforms, Ties

AU0912163495 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1430 GMT 8 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Developments in the respective countries and the cooperation between them in the bilateral and regional framework were the topics that predominated today's meeting between Prime Minister Aleksander Meksi and Bulgarian President Zhelyu Zhelev.

After briefing the Bulgarian president on the course of reforms in Albania, Mr. Meksi stated that the democratization of the country's life and peace in the Balkans are the factors that condition the influx of foreign investments, for whose perspective Meksi expressed himself optimistic. Meksi later briefed Zhelev on the Albanian Government's will and readiness to strengthen the economic and cultural cooperation between the two countries.

I express my admiration for Albania's successes, in particular over the past two years, Bulgarian President Zhelev assessed at the beginning of his speech. Zhelev underlined that, despite a fatal inheritance, Albania is an evident example testifying that when the parliament, the executive power, and the president are working for the same cause, the results are very good. The contrary in our country, Bulgaria, has brought about a long delay in the road that we have started. Disagreements among institutions, parties, or parliamentary groups have slowed down the country's development.

Zhelev showed special interest in the participation of the Balkan countries in reconstructing the devastated regions in the former Yugoslavia and the East-West corridor.

Both interlocutors ended the meeting, assuring each other of a reciprocal will to boost cooperation further between our two countries, the Prime Minister's Press and Information Office reports.

Discusses East-West Highway

AU1112102995 Tirana GAZETA SHQIPTARE in Albanian 9 Dec 95 p 3

[Report by P. Re.: "Meksi Asks Zhelev, 'Start the Highway'"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Tirana—"A coordination center for building the highway along the East-West corridor should be created in Sofia." Bulgarian President Zhelev and Albanian Prime Minister Meksi spoke concretely for the first time at their meeting yesterday about the funding and construction of the super-highway that will in the future connect our two capital cities with Istanbul and the Middle East. Alexander Meksi was the first at yesterday's meeting with Zhelyu Zhelev to ask for the formalization of the enormous project, which would open new horizons for business and employment in Albania and Bulgaria. "Private firms too could finance the project," said the Albanian prime minister, insisting that there is no time to lose. The Bulgarian president was in agreement with this, and for his part proposed that the center for coordinating the operations should be created in Sofia. Zhelev did not rule out the possibility of later including in the project other states interested in the East-West corridor, such as Russia and Ukraine. Meanwhile, the two statesmen had plenty of other ideas to exchange. Meksi supported President Zhelev's idea of both states becoming suppliers of food and clothing to the 60,000 troops of the NATO-coordinated international peace force in the former war zone of Bosnia-Hercegovina. "We must benefit, because we were punished severely in the economic sense over problems for which we were not to blame," Zhelev announced. The Bulgarian president also expressed his sadness over the future of Bulgaria, which, he claimed, is suffering the consequences of the antagonism of a government of former communists toward a president from the opposition.

Zhelev Comments; Departs

AU0912163595 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1900 GMT 8 Dec 95

[Report by Bujar Muharremi, including interview with Bulgarian President Zhelyu Zhelev in Tirana before his departure today—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Bulgarian President Zhelyu Zhelev held a working meeting with Prime Minister Aleksander Meksi this morning. Meksi briefed the Bulgarian president on the course of reforms in Albania, stressing the latest developments such as the decline in inflation and budgetary deficit and the increase in production. Meksi further spoke about the process of the complete privatization of agriculture in Albania and privatization in the sectors of transportation, construction, and services. [passage omitted]

Bulgaria lost two to three precious years in the process of transformations, Zhelev said. I cannot say that everything will go on well and without confrontations. There are some things that should be realized regardless of who is in power, Zhelev said, mentioning privatization, the land reform, integration into Western structures, etc. [passage omitted] A considerable part of funds will be directed toward Albania, Zhelev said.

Regarding the East-West corridor, President Zhelev once again assessed the European Union support.

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For his part, Prime Minister Meksi supported Bulgarian President Zhelev's idea to create a common center in Sofia.

Zhelev expressed his idea that, in the near future, other countries such as Russia and Ukraine will be very interested in the East-West corridor. [passage omitted]

Before his departure from our country, Bulgarian President Zhelev gave an interview for the Albanian RTSh:

[Muharremi] Two years ago, you gave an exclusive interview to the Albanian RTSh. This is your second visit to Albania. Can you please tell us what changes the Bulgarian president notices in Albania?

[Zhelev in Bulgarian with passage-by-passage translation into Albanian] Many changes have occurred. They are changes for the good. Perhaps, for you it is difficult to notice these changes, as you live here. But, for a man that has not seen the country for two years, the changes are very evident. For instance, the last time I was here, there was no motorway with two lanes and two directions. This is a fact. At the city entrance, I now see so many new and beautiful shops. Before, there were a lot of collected goods on the pavements and coca-cola cans lying on the ground. This was the market economy at that time.

[Muharremi] Mr. President, President Berisha yesterday stressed his pleasure about the news you brought after your visit to Italy. Can you tell us something more concrete, regarding the East-West corridor as well?

[Zhelev] I made a commitment in front of President Scalfaro to bring the news to President Berisha that Italy and President Scalfaro fully support the project on the East-West corridor.

[Muharremi] Bulgarian President Zhelev ended his visit to our country at noon. At Rinas Airport, Zhelev was seen off by President Berisha and his wife, representatives of the Presidency and Foreign Ministry, and diplomats from the Bulgarian Embassy in Tirana. The ambassadors of our two countries, respectively Xhelal Tahiri and Stefan Naumov, were also present.

Defense Cooperation Agreement With Britain Signed

AU1112090295 Tirana RILINDJA DEMOKRATIKE in Albanian 6 Dec 95 p 3

[Unattributed report: "Zhulali in Britain—Basis Laid for Military Cooperation"]

[FBIS Translated Text] A cooperation plan for 1996 and a memorandum on military cooperation between the Defense Ministry of the Republic of Albania and the Defense Ministry of the United Kingdom were signed in London yesterday. The agreement was signed by Albanian Defense Minister Safet Zhulali and Michael Dertill, British secretary of state for defense. This agreement will embody in institutional form the military relations between the two countries and will raise them to new levels. At yesterday's meeting, the two ministers also discussed democracy and the reforms in Albania, the regional situation, the role Albania has played in supporting peace and stability in the Balkans, cooperation between the two countries, etc. An exchange of views on the problem of Kosova and a solution to the Albanian question was another important aspect of the talks. Minister Zhulali held separate meetings at the British Defense Ministry with the deputy parliamentary secretary of state for defense, the deputy chief of staff, and other senior officials. These meetings discussed specific areas of cooperation and opportunities to support the Albanian Army. At a separate meeting with Sir Nicholas Bonsor, minister of state for foreign and Commonwealth affairs, discussions concentrated principally on regional problems, the Dayton agreement, Albania's role for peace in the region, and ways of solving the Kosova problem. "We are grateful to you for the help Albania has given to the operations in Bosnia, and I think that cooperation with NATO countries will increase further." There was a very warm meeting with Lord Cranborne, speaker of the House of Lords. Specific aspects of military cooperation and a possible increase in British aid were examined at the meeting. Defense Minister Zhulali also met yesterday the House of Commons Defense Committee and visited the Royal Services Institute, where a roundtable on European security was held. Albania's security and defense policies were the main topics of discussion. Defense Minister Zhulali subsequently had a very interesting meeting with British World War II veterans.

Chief of Staff Visits Italy, Meets Counterpart

AU0912140495 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1900 GMT 8 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] General Sheme Kosova, chief of the Army General Staff, paid an official three-day visit to Italy, where he was received and held meetings with Admiral Guido Venturoni, chief of the Italian Defense General Staff, and Professor Guido Silvester, deputy secretary of state for defense.

The talks focused on further boosting bilateral relations and the work to strengthen cooperation in the field of defense, thus moving toward a concrete implementation of the agreement on military cooperation signed by the two defense ministers Zhulali and Corcione.

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Balli Head Wants Diaspora Albanians in Elections

AU1012171895 Zurich BOTA SOT in Albanian 8 Dec 95 p 6

[Report by "I.K.": "Albanians From Diaspora in Elections As Well"]

[FBIS Translated Text] "Diaspora Albanians should also be able to run in the elections," National Front [Balli Kombetar] leader Hysen Selfo declared before President Berisha in the form of a demand at a meeting on Electoral Law held at the Presidency. Selfo did not hesitate to use the occasion to propose that Berisha grant those Albanians who have lived or continue to live abroad the opportunity to take part in future elections. According to some of those who were present, the president simply took note of the leader's demand. Berisha, according to them, did not react. It is worth pointing out that this demand was made shortly after the arrival in Albania of the National Front leader Abaz Ermenji. Asked whether he was aiming at Ermenji representation in the next political elections, Selfo responded that our demand does not just include Ermenji, as the Albanian personalities in the diaspora are more than few.

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'Pitfalls' for Peace Process in Bosnia Seen

AU1112133795 Sofia BULGARSKA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 7 Dec 95 pp 1, 4

[Commentary by Vasil Dimitrov: "Peace Has Come to Bosnia, But Is It Forever?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The rule that even the longest and most cruel war ends eventually is about to be confirmed in Bosnia. The hope and optimism are inevitable and understandable. However, they do not replace the necessity of answering the question: "Has peace come forever?"

Undoubtedly, the agreements that will be signed within a few days in Paris are a triumph for U.S. diplomacy and NATO. The team of Christopher and Holbrooke virtually dragged the leaders of Belgrade, Sarajevo, and Zagreb to the Dayton Air Force Base in Ohio and kept them there under conditions that some people have described as a "five-star prison" until they reached an agreement.

Thus, the United States confirmed its leadership and left the EU, Russia, and the Contact Group with the role of extras. For its part, NATO replaced the United Nations and assumed the task of controlling the implementation of the agreements.

The horizon before the "Pax Americana" in Bosnia appears to be clear and sunny. However, no other than Deputy Secretary of State Richard Holbrooke, who was the real author of the Dayton agreements, was the first to mention the possibility that the U.S. public could be influenced by the "Vietnalia Syndrome." In the past, Holbrooke has already proved that he is the last person who could be described as "naive" and that he knows very well what he is talking about.

There is no state called Vietnalia, but Vietnam and Somalia, from whose names this concept is formed, exist and evoke unpleasant thoughts in Americans. This is what the deputy secretary of state has in mind when he says that "the memory of the bad cases overshadows the memory of the success." This concern of his is fully justified.

The 16,000-strong multinational corps in Bosnia is not called upon to control the existing territorial status-quo, but to bring it to conform with the Dayton Agreement, i.e., 51 percent to the Muslims and Croats and 49 percent to the Serbs. This means that the corps will control the exchange of land, the withdrawal of troops, and the return of refugees. Each of those activities involves a threat to the fragile peace.

The politicians will have to define precisely the mandate of the multinational troops and the rules of their behavior. If the mandate does not guarantee an unbiased and equal attitude to the three sides of the conflict and if it allows a subjective improvisation in the actions of the military command, the mission of the multinational forces will be doomed to fail, precisely as the mission of the UN Protection Force failed.

The rules must be absolutely clear also to the lower-ranking commanders and even to the soldiers. They must know how to react to the violations, how to punish the violators, to whom they must report, and from whom they should seek instructions. It is already known that the multinational forces can open fire if attacked.

However, would the necessary proportion of the reaction be preserved, or will, in response to a few shots by an unidentified sniper, an entire squadron of fighters deployed on an aircraft carrier in the Adriatic be activated? If the rules are too paralyzing, the troops will prove to have their hands tied vis-a-vis the violators. On the other hand, excessive freedom of action could turn the peacemakers into occupiers. Both extremes are dangerous for the cause of peace.

It also is difficult to envisage the reactions of the local population in their contacts with the multinational forces. It must be remembered that this population has already been living in a stressful situation for five years and that its behavior and thinking are primarily influenced by the dramatic necessity of physical survival. This often remains incomprehensible for those primarily tortured by the painful question of on what exotic island they should celebrate Christmas.

The agreements themselves contain pitfalls. The envisaged three-stage elimination of the arms embargo could produce consequences that cannot be foreseen. Who would utilize the situation in his favor? It is well-known that Belgrade and Pale have no money for new weapons.

On the other hand, many are prepared to volunteer for the task of finishing off the Muslims and Croats, who mostly insisted on eliminating the arms embargo. Could someone guarantee that a new balance of forces will not tempt someone to demand a new territorial division?

The peace in Bosnia has arrived, however, the shadow of Vietnalia really hovers over it as a warning.

Ministry: Concern for Bulgarians in FYROM

AU0812144395 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 8 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] On 8 December, at a news conference, Ivan Khristov, deputy minister of foreign affairs, presented a Foreign Ministry declaration on certain aspects of Bulgarian-Macedonian relations.

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Bulgaria expresses concern about certain reports according to which the investigation of the attempt against President Kiro Gligorov is being used as a pretext to apply inadmissible forms of pressure against people with a Bulgarian self-awareness.

Some of them are being detained for days without any judicial accusation or a right to defense. Bulgarian literature in their possession has been seized.

The declaration specifies the cases of Dimitur Crnomarov of Bitola and Vladimir Bonkovski from Ohrid.

All this evokes the impression of a purposeful anti-Bulgarian campaign. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs will request information on the aforementioned cases. Mr. Khristov recalled Bulgaria's principled position on Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM]—recognizing the existing realities in the Balkans, recognizing the Republic of Macedonia and its territorial integrity, and rendering help to Macedonia's international consolidation.

Videnov, Slovakia's Meciar Assess Visit Results

AU0812200895 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1700 GMT 8 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The official visit to Bulgaria by Slovak Prime Minister Vladislav Meciar has ended. [passage omitted]

Today Prime Minister Meciar was received by President Zhelev, with whom issues related to the two countries' common quest to become full-fledged EU members was discussed.

Mr. Meciar's final meeting in Sofia was with his host, Prime Minister Zhan Videnov. The meeting was followed by a ceremony at which several cooperation agreements were signed. [passage omitted]

Prime Minister Videnov expressed satisfaction with the great success of the Slovak delegation's visit.

[Begin recording] This success was expressed not only in the agreements that were signed, and which are very important, especially the agreement on free trade—this is the first such agreement that Bulgaria is signing with a country that is a member of CEFTA and the Central European Initiative. This also is the first of a series of agreements through which we will find our road toward traditional and new partners in Central Europe, a road along which we will march in the correct direction toward a full-fledged membership in united Europe.

The visit was also important because during the 48 hours of the visit, Mr. Meciar and I succeeded in establishing how close the problems our countries face today are, and how small the obstacles, misunderstandings, and distance are that stand between our countries. This is so, not only because we are equally interested in developing communication, transportation, and power supply projects of an all-European scope, but also because obviously, a priority development of our relations could help both our countries in the future. [end recording]

For his part, Prime Minister Meciar highly assessed the visit. He stressed that the goal of the first visit of a Slovak governmental delegation to Bulgaria was to enrich and expand contacts between the two countries.

Many issues of bilateral relations were discussed. We consider as very important the final touches on the Treaty on Legal Basis of Developing Bilateral Relations, Mr. Meciar said.

The agreement on free trade that was signed and which envisages the gradual elimination of customs within three years is a foundation of expanding our economic cooperation, the Slovak prime minister said. [passage omitted]

Cooperation Agreements Signed

AU0812163[illegible] Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgar[illegible]600 GMT 8 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Five documents related to bilateral economic cooperation between Bulgaria and Slovakia were signed today at the end of the visit of Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar. The documents include agreements on air transportation, cooperation between the two countries' Ministries of Agriculture, cooperation in plants protection, cooperation in veterinary medicine, and most importantly—an agreement on free trade between the Republic of Bulgaria and the Republic of Slovakia. This agreement envisages the gradual elimination of customs in the trade between the two countries in the next three years.

The Slovak prime minister invited Prime Minister Zhan Videnov to visit the Republic of Slovakia early next year. Mr. Videnov said that he will indeed make such a visit.

Tsochev Previews Belgrade Visit, Cooperation

LD0912145995 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1344 GMT 9 Dec 95

["Ecopool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sofia, Dec. 9 (TANJUG)—Bulgarian vice-prime minister and minister for foreign trade and economic relations, Kiril Tsochev, has said there exist very favourable conditions for establishing stable and comprehensive relations between Bulgaria

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and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in the spheres of economy, culture, etc.

Speaking to TANJUG on Saturday, ahead of a trip to Belgrade where he will head an economic delegation, Tsochev said there are big possibilities for expanding economic cooperation between the two countries due to the fact that their economies are highly complementary and their territories very close.

"In Belgrade, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia will sign an agreement on trade and economic cooperation which will involve the mutual granting of the status of the most priviledged nation in the sphere of trade, foreign currency payments, and inter-banking agreements in order to facilitate trade and mutual informing about each other's laws and economic development," Tsochev said.

He said that Bulgaria and Yugoslavia would soon sign agreements on the orienting and protection of investments and avoiding double taxation.

Tsochev said that, after the sanctions on Yugoslavia are lifted, the two countries will once again establish or initiate new cooperation in the machine bulding industry, electronics, metallurgy, the chemical industry and the manufacture of consumer goods.

Bulgarian firms are also ready to take part in cooperation deals which had earlier involved the former Yugoslav republics.

Bulgarian-Yugoslav cooperation on a new basis should contribute to the expansion, as soon as possible, of cooperation between all Balkan countries, Tsochev said.

"This will enable the currently divided Balkan countries to both strengthen their positions in Europe and the world, and to prepare for full economic integration into Europe," Tsochev said.

Zhelev Interviewed on Return of Communism

BR0812142895 Rome LA REPUBBLICA in Italian 8 Dec 95 p 16

[Interview with President Zhelyu Zhelev by Mario Tedeschini Lalli in Rome; date not given: "Zhelev: 'Help, Bulgaria Is Returning to the Communists'"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Lalli] Mr. President, the Communists are also making a comeback in Bulgaria. How do you explain that?

[Zhelev] In reality the switch from one system to the other was less easy than we had imagined. We found it is a lot easier to move from fascism to democracy than from Stalinism to democracy. In the transition from communist totalitarianism it is not simply the political leadership that has to change, but the whole economic base. Mussolini, Hitler, Franco... none of them laid a finger on private property, which is why the switch to democracy was much easier in their countries. In addition, we may have rather underestimated the security problem. The first stage was to guarantee individual freedom, but the only ones to really benefit from that were the mafia and the criminal community. The man in the street did not really feel the benefits and started to miss the low security level that the totalitarian regimes succeeded in guaranteeing.

[Lalli] But surely that holds true for all the former communist countries?

[Zhelev] Each country is different and it is dangerous to try to draw comparisons. However, there is no denying that there has been a definite swing to the Left. More than anything else this is due to the difficulties we have run into trying to push through change at the economic level, which has led to unemployment, falling standards of living, and a lack of security. You will find these phenomena in all the former communist countries.

[Lalli] What if the post-Communists, or perhaps I should simply say the Communists, win the upcoming elections in Russia? What would the repercussions of that be on the situation in Bulgaria?

[Zhelev] It would not have any direct repercussions, as some people like to think. Since 1989 Bulgaria has looked to the West. It is a member of the Council of Europe, an associate member of the EU, and participates in the NATO partnership. Our future is tied up with Europe, the euro-atlantic community, democracy, and the market economy, and all these things lie in the West and nowhere else!

[Lalli] There is an impression that the old "dissidents" are disappearing now...

[Zhelev] I would not say so. They enjoyed a high profile in politics for a long time and played a key role. Now, however, we have reached a stage where the country's leadership must be increasingly professional, pragmatic, and less ideological to resolve people's real problems. We do not need dissidents, we need competent people.

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Kovacs: Budapest Pleased by U.S. Role in Slavonia

LD1012121695 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1100 GMT 10 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Hungary has noted with satisfaction that the United States will provide the head of the temporary administration in eastern Slavonia, Foreign Minister Laszlo Kovacs said after the Bosnia peace conference in London. He attended the conference as Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe [OSCE] chairman in office. Laszlo Kovacs said the unresolved status of eastern Slavonia may cause a conflict in the region and it may be more serious than the Bosnian crisis.

Kovacs Views IFOR Participation, NATO Entry

LD1012220895 Budapest MTV Television Network in Hungarian 1800 GMT 10 Dec 95

[Interview with Foreign Minister Laszlo Kovacs by an unidentified correspondent in Budapest "before the Bosnia talks in London"; date not given—from "The Week" program; recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Unidentified correspondent] The Czech Republic has an unquestionable geostrategic advantage from the point of view of joining NATO: It is not a neighbor of any of the former Soviet Union's successor states. Is it possible that by offering the logistics base we could catch up on the Czechs?

[Kovacs] I do not look at admissions to NATO as a kind of race among the Central European or the Visegrad countries, for every country should be assessed by NATO on the basis of their own potentials and achievements. I think that Hungary's chances are no worse than those of the Czech Republic from the point of view of joining NATO.

[Correspondent] Does the participation of the four Visegrad states' in Bosnian IFOR [Implementation Force] activities bring their NATO admission closer?

[Kovacs] What is true regarding Hungary should be true regarding any other country. That is to say, if a country participates in IFOR activities by providing logistics or other support, it will have to strengthen cooperation between the given country and NATO, and it is obviously true about Slovakia, the Czech Republic, or Poland, as well.

[Correspondent] From the viewpoint of our possible NATO admission, how do you assess the fact that Spanish Foreign Minister Solana became the NATO secretary general?

[Kovacs] This development is significant for us from three aspects. The first is that Javier Solana, in his capacity as the Spanish foreign minister, has several times unambiguously expressed his commitment to the expansion of the institutions of the euro-atlantic integration process, including the expansion of NATO and the EU. A politician who is in favor of expansion has been appointed as secretary general.

The other point is that—for certain similarities in the history of the two countries, Hungary and Spain—Javier Solana understands the essence of the change of regime in Hungary and the complications of this transition and he is well aware of the importance of international support for this.

Let me also mention a third, personal, point of view, which is not entirely unimportant either. Javier Solana was the first West European foreign minister whom I could welcome in Hungary, who visited Hungary at my invitation and from that time a very good personal relationship has developed between us. This makes communication easier with him when he will be in the seat of the NATO secretary general.

Ministry Denies Any 'Profits' from NATO Forces

AU0912170895 Paris AFP in English 1642 GMT 9 Dec 95

[Report by Eszter Szamado]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Budapest, Dec 9 (AFP)—Hungary denied Saturday [9 December] it would make handsome profits from NATO-led troops using its territory as part of the peace implementation mission in Bosnia.

A Defence Ministry spokesman told AFP that Budapest had no intention of levying extra charges on US troops using its territory to provide technical support for the peace implementation force in Bosnia, as reported in the US AVIATION WEEK publication. The spokesman, Lajos Erdelyi, added that Hungary would actually end up poorer from the whole operation, given its troop contributions to the 60,000-strong force in the former Yugoslav republic. "The Hungarian state does not want to profiteer on this," Erdelyi said of Hungary's various roles as troop provider, host and conduit for the peace force and its back-up team.

"It is a basic political interest of Hungary to have peace in the Balkans," the spokesman said. "Hungary has to make sacrifices for that, and it is making its own sacrifices."

AVIATION WEEK reported that Hungary and Croatia would charge 125,000 dollars for each train and aircraft carrying NATO troops and material for the Bosnia peacekeeping operation though their territory.

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The Hungarian denial of the report came as a first group of some 50 US troops flew into the military airport in Taszar, southern Hungary, to set up a logistical base and transit center for NATO troops.

Erdelyi said that under the Dayton peace agreement on Bosnia, to be signed in Paris next week, each country participating in the NATO peacekeeping operation in the Balkans would pay the expenses of its own troops sent there. As an example, he quoted the sending, on NATO request, of a 500-strong Hungarian technical contingent to build bridges in Bosnia, approved by parliament on Tuesday, which would cost Hungary 14.5 million dollars.

Other Hungarian military sources told AFP that that amount, topped up with Hungary's further costs tied to NATO's operation "Concerted Effort" would by far exceed any amounts that Hungary could charge for the use of its airspace and transport systems.

Aviation and railway officials said Saturday that the use of local railways and aviation control equipment by NATO would be charged in line with normal practice in international traffic, but added that NATO would be charged less than the commercial tariffs. Some 40 trains are expected to transit Hungary daily from January with NATO troops and equipment aboard.

Ministry Requests 'Technical Squad' Applicants

LD1012200495 Budapest MTV Television Network in Hungarian 1800 GMT 10 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The Defense Ministry will publish an invitation for applications in the national newspapers tomorrow.

The advertisement gives detailed information on the criteria the 500 soldiers will have to meet who will apply for participation in the Hungarian technical squad to be sent to Bosnia. Defense Minister Gyorgy Keleti told "Newsreel" on the phone that there was a need for the advertisement because the 500 people should be selected from as many people as possible.

[Begin Keleti recording] There have been a lot of applicants on the basis of preliminary information. However, the advertisement outlines in detail who are expected to apply and the criteria of selection for participation in this technical squad. Furthermore, we are trying to achieve that as many people as possible apply—I am expecting three or four times more applicants than we will select—simply because we would like to make the selection from the widest possible group of people in order to find the most suitable people for this very important activity. [end recording]

Romania's Melescanu Interviewed on OSCE Stands

AU0812151995 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 2000 GMT 7 Dec 95

[Interview with Romanian Foreign Minister Teodor Melescanu by Peter Wagner in Budapest on 7 December—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Announcer] The Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe [OSCE] held a ministerial meeting in Budapest lasting for one and a half days. According to AFP, this meeting will give the OSCE a large-scale operational role in the peace process in Bosnia-Herzegovina. According to the Dayton accord, the OSCE's task is to supervise the next legislative and presidential elections in Bosnia.

Here is an interview with Foreign Minister Teodor Melescanu, taken in Budapest by our special correspondent Peter Wagner.

[Wagner] Mr. Minister Teodor Melescanu, we are in Budapest, on the corridors of the International Congress Palace, only a few minutes after your address to the plenary meeting of the OSCE Ministerial Council. What subjects did you tackle in your brief address?

[Melescanu] My first speech this morning, as you know, amounted to a presentation of Romania's general position on the OSCE's activity. In my address I tried to draw a balance sheet for and positively assess the organization's very dynamic activity carried out in the past year under Hungary's chairmanship. At the same time, I tried to raise a few problems which, in our opinion, should be paid greater attention by the OSCE. In practical terms, it seems to me that there is a certain trend to rather forget or minimize certain extremely important subjects for the OSCE, such as the economic cooperation, the free circulation of people, and even cultural cooperation, something which does not seem right to us. We believe that the OSCE does indeed play a very important role in preventive diplomacy and in preventing conflicts and that it should definitely exert this role. However, what makes the OSCE a special organization is also the fact that it also tackles all the basic problems affecting security and cooperation in Europe. As a matter of fact, this is the name of the conference itself. Second, I tried to emphasize certain things linked, in our opinion, to the OSCE's contribution to the successful unfolding of the peace process in the former Yugoslavia. In this respect, we support the idea of a certain OSCE involvement—through its specific means, such as missions of experts and observers—in supporting the democratic process there and in ensuring and promoting the rights of the minorities. We also expressed Romania's readiness to directly contribute,

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with experts and ideas, to this process of consolidating peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

In my second speech this afternoon, I presented our position on the efforts being made within the OSCE to work out a security model. In this respect, we emphasized the need for striking a very clear balance between the efforts to work out new concepts and objectives, which we support and want to contribute to, and the concerns with implementing and ensuring the efficient functioning of the already extant OSCE bodies and of other European and euro-atlantic bodies with prerogatives in this matter—I am thinking of NATO, for security matters, of the EU, for economic matters, and of the Council of Europe, for human rights. Of course, I also tried to present a few ideas on the way in which we see the continuation of the efforts to work out this model of security and, in this framework, we even outlined the defining elements of such a security model, which, in our opinion, should be a continuation of the principles that have laid at the basis of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe [CSCE], such as the principle of equal participation, the principle of consensus, and the principle of tackling all problems pertaining to security and cooperation in Europe. I also expressed our desire to see as few attempts as possible to set up new bodies. Instead one should focus on using the already extant structures; hence our insistence on the fact that we do not believe that one should establish hierarchies and competences; nor do we believe that one should decide which organization is more important and which ones are subordinated to others. We insisted on the need to find a very practical means of cooperation among all these institutions—from the OSCE up to the Council of Europe or NATO—as I said before, since all of them contribute to creating this climate of security and cooperation which we all want to see on our continent.

[Wagner] Mr. Melescanu, it is known that each international meeting is an opportunity for bilateral meetings. Did you have such meetings?

[Melescanu] I had several such meetings with my colleagues in the region, first of all with our host, Mr. Minister Kovacs [Hungarian minister of foreign affairs].

[Wagner] As a matter of fact, you flew together in the same plane from Brussels to Budapest.

[Melescanu] Yes. And we will also fly together to London tomorrow. Actually, we have seen each other very often of late. Our efforts, in general, and even today's talks mainly dealt with establishing a timetable for the forthcoming expert-level talks, which, as you well know, are devoted to implementing the historic reconciliation initiative recently launched by President Ion Iliescu and finalizing the basic treaty, which is in an advanced stage. I would say that, what we agreed to so far is that, by the end of this month, we should be able to submit to each other some ideas, maybe a few new ones, allowing us to overcome the current stage. Likewise, we agreed to hold several expert-level meetings on the subject of the basic treaty and the historic reconciliation, at the beginning of next month. We hope that these talks will lead to concrete results.

I also met with many other colleagues, including the new Israeli foreign minister, with whom I wanted to discuss the evolution of the peace talks in the Middle East and Romania's contribution to the continuation of this process. We also made a brief review of the bilateral relations between Romania and Israel and their prospects.

[Wagner] What is the purpose of your three-stage tour, so to call it, of recent days: Brussels, Budapest, London?

[Melescanu] These visits are mainly linked to our efforts to make a concrete and substantial contribution to this process in Bosnia-Herzegovina and to consolidating security in this very important region for us—since it is a neighboring one, namely, the Balkans—as well as to security and stability in the whole of Europe. We are particularly interested in this matter and the tour reflects our concern with ensuring that Romania, as well as other countries which were very seriously affected by the embargo imposed against former Yugoslavia, should profit from participating in the reconstruction efforts there, thus allowing them to recover part of the losses incurred.

Croatian General on Hungarian Peacekeeping Unit

LD1012110495 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 0805 GMT 10 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] After a lengthy debate the National Assembly decided this week that a maximum of 500 Hungarian soldiers may take part in the international peace action. Are Hungarian worries shared in Croatia, where the Hungarian technical unit will be stationed? Gyorgy B. (Valko) interviewed an expert soldier. [passage omitted]

[Valko] [Passage omitted] There are opinions, held particularly by a group of the military, that Croatia could have come off better had it liberated eastern Slavonia itself and taken, for example, Banja Luka. I asked one of the most influential Croatian generals, Anton Tus. He does not belong to the aforementioned group. He holds a balanced opinion. The former chief of the general staff is of the view that the arrival of the Hungarian unit is definitely welcome. The objection, often mentioned

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by Serbs, that Hungarians committed crimes in World War II is outdated. Today's situation is different, he said. Hungary has established really friendly and good-neighborly relations with Croatia.

Gen. Tus said the territory around Pakrac and Novska, where the Hungarian unit will be stationed, is considered an orderly district compared with the recently liberated territories. The region has completely been integrated into the Croatian legal and economic systems, thus there is no security risk.

What presents a danger is that the Serbs have been shooting the area for years and there are a great number of mines left behind, therefore special care will be needed. Enormous expertise will be needed for clearing the area of mines.

The general also said the Hungarian unit will be accommodated in well-built houses, where UN troops were put up earlier. He pointed out that the unit and the NATO commanders would have to select the buildings, the Croatian side would only present them with choices. Gen. Tus stressed that the situation was under 100 percent control in this area.

[Begin Tus recording, in Serbo-Croatian fading into Hungarian translation] Belgrade experts confirmed that this may be true, since the Serbs have completely withdrawn from here, only a few thousand elderly people—the majority of whom need care—remain in Pakrac and Novska. The situation on the other side of the Sava River is entirely different. Militant Serbs live there, but that is Bosnia over there and the wilder part of it. One has to prepare for different conditions there. [end recording]

Additional Guards Withdrawn From Croatian Border

LD1012133795 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1200 GMT 10 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The additional border guard companies have been withdrawn from the southern stretch of the Hungarian border definitively, now that the direct danger of military clashes in the region is over. Border Guard spokesman Attila Krisan said the Pecs Border Guard Directorate will exercise control over the Croatian stretch of the border. Simultaneously with the withdrawal of the security forces, technical preparations began for the passage of IFOR [Implementation Force], the spokesman said.

Bosnian Peacekeepers Cross Slovak-Hungarian Border

LD1012165195 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1600 GMT 10 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The first train of the Bosnian peacekeeping forces of NATO has reached Hungary's territory. The train crossed the Slovak-Hungarian border at the border crossing point between Sturovo and Szob.

The Slovak Government approved the peacekeeping forces' transit through Slovakia on 7 December. According to Bratislava forecasts, further NATO trains will pass through Slovakia, and consequently through Hungary, once every 24 hours.

Slovakia's Schenk Asks for 'Restraint' on Treaty

LD0812155795 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1100 GMT 8 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The meeting of foreign ministers of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe [OSCE] is continuing in Budapest. The most important meeting for us at the moment is the one between Slovak Foreign Minister Juraj Schenk and his Hungarian counterpart, Laszlo Kovacs. On the line from Budapest with the details is our correspondent, Gregor Martin Papucsek:

[Papucsek] The meeting between Juraj Schenk and Laszlo Kovacs this morning lasted over three-quarters of an hour. It would seem that the two ministers managed to relieve some of the tension that there has been in mutual relations over the past few weeks. The Slovak foreign minister presented this evaluation of the meeting to a large number of assembled journalists:

[Begin Schenk recording] I am very glad that the minister and I had the opportunity to meet. This meeting is in fact connected with the spirit of the [Hungarian-Slovak] basic treaty that we have signed, in which we said that we would consult one another. We agreed that since the time when the new Hungarian and Slovak Governments took office, Slovak-Hungarian relations have clearly turned a corner, and the evidence for this turning point lies not only in the signing of the treaty, but also in the concrete achievements in economic, political, and other forms of cooperation.

We naturally also discussed two topical questions: first, of course, there is the question of the [Slovak State] Language Law [passed on 15 November], and then also the question of the ratification [by the Slovak parliament] of the Basic Treaty. We discussed our positions as they have been presented: in our case it was a reiteration of our position, in that we consider passage of the law to be an internal matter for the Slovak

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Republic, on which we held advance consultations to a greater degree than usual at both the prime ministerial level between our two countries and with experts of the Council of Europe. We also accepted some of their recommendations, and I stress that they were recommendations, just as we accepted some of the recommendations of Mr. van der Stoel, the [OSCE] high commissioner for ethnic minorities.

You know, as we have stressed many times, that the passage of the State Language Law does not affect the exercise of minority rights in the linguistic sphere. This law simply does not have anything to do with that. Article 34 of the Constitution, and 33 other Slovak laws concerning the use of minority languages in various spheres, from the aforementioned official contacts to education and so on, continue to be in force.

One thing is important. Although one temporary legal provision was abolished, an unjustified reaction, I would say, arose, often based on ignorance and misinterpretation, and many people reacted to the Slovak Language Law who even now have not seen its final version. Now I think that the conditions have been created for the elimination of this hubbub of information, and Minister Kovacs and I used our meeting to this end.

I would like to repeat two important messages from the Slovak parliament and the Slovak side. First, nothing has changed and nothing will change in the exercise of minority rights in everyday life in the Slovak Republic. Existing minority rights have been preserved and will be preserved. That is the first thing.

Second: Parliament is prepared to complete the codification process in this sphere, either by passing a special law, a comprehensive law on minorities, or a charter on minority and regional languages. It is necessary of course to pick out the best and most effective way. We will probably of course take a pragmatic approach, but a decision has not yet been made.

The second thing, I would like to add, is ratification. We stressed that it is important that the ratification process has begun, the treaty is on the December agenda [of parliament], and of course, just as was the case during the ratification of this treaty in Hungary, certain emotions have been aroused surrounding this process and some political games are being played here. These are fairly normal, and we have asked the Hungarian side to exercise great restraint to ensure that some of its statements and reactions not be abused to the detriment of our common aims and to the detriment of our cooperation. [passage omitted] [end recording]

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Silajdzic, Ganic Assure U.S. Senators on Troops

LD1012161295 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 10 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] A delegation of Republican and Democratic representatives of the U.S. Congress is visiting Sarajevo today to look into the terms under which U.S. troops with the IFOR [Implementation Force] will be deployed in Bosnia-Herzegovina. The delegation, headed by the Republican Dennis Hastert, was today received by a delegation of the Republic and Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina with Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic at its head. We have a report by Belma Kursumlic:

[Kursumlic] On the occasion of today's meeting between the delegations of the government of the Republic and Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina and of the U.S. Congress, Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic gave the following press statement:

[Begin Silajdzic recording] These are our guests from the U.S. Congress. They are welcome here. They had some questions, and we, I hope, had the answers. They wanted to know what was most important at the present moment. The most important thing is to ensure that NATO troops, including the American ones, are sent to Bosnia. This is the top priority. The second is to embark on the reconstruction of the country immediately, to normalize life immediately, or rather as soon as possible, to bring back our refugees and, finally, to set in motion preparations for elections. In other words: reconstruction, but first, of course, the deployment of NATO troops, immediately, without a delay, the reconstruction, the return of refugees and preparations for elections. This is what we need.

We told our guests that we now have a stable ceasefire, but what we need is stable peace. Without them we cannot have it. That is why they are welcome and why we want their support. [end recording] [passage omitted]

After the meeting with Bosnia-Herzegovina Government representatives, the U.S. Congress delegation was received by Ejup Ganic, a member of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency and the vice president of the federation. Zinaida Adilovic reports:

In his address to journalists, Presidency member Ejup Ganic had the following to say about his talks with the U.S. congressmen:

[Being Ganic recording in English with superimposed Serbo-Croatian translation] We had very extensive discussion with the U.S. congressmen. To be honest, I am glad to see that in this war the U.S. Administration, Congress, and Government are on the side of the Bosnians. I hope that the therapy now applied to Bosnia-Herzegovina will finally save it. We have so far not been allowed to arm and defend ourselves. We were in a critical situation. All the therapies applied so far were wrong. The Europeans were unable to solve this problem that was termed a European problem. Now we have the greatest democracy and power with moral principles. We welcome NATO troops because we feel that they will contribute to a stable peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina. When their withdraw, we will have stability in the region. [end recording]

Silajdzic Interviewed on Dayton Accord

LD0912225695 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1703 GMT 9 Dec 95

[Interview with Bosnian Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic by "program editor" Dzevad Dziho for a "special program" dedicated to the Dayton accord — live]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Correspondent] Dear listeners, in the next 50 minutes you will listen to a special program about the peace agreement for Bosnia-Herzegovina. Dzevad Dziho is the program's editor.

[Dziho] Good evening. Prime Minister Dr. Haris Silajdzic is the guest of tonight's special program. Good evening and welcome.

[Silajdzic] Good evening.

[Dziho] Mr. Silajdzic, the peace agreement for Bosnia-Herzegovina is due to be signed in Paris on 14 December. Could you please tell us now, a few days before the ceremony, whether there could be any changes or amendments to the peace agreement initialled in Dayton? Richard Holbrooke was in our country, that is, in Sarajevo on 8 December. It seems that he was resolute.

[Silajdzic] I believe that any change now would be unacceptable and unwise. We did not sit for 21 days in Dayton in vain. The agreement was reached, and any change now would bring into question the entire peace project, in which all of us have invested a lot and from which all sides expect a lot.

[Dziho] This means, as things stand now, that there can be no changes. Let us go back to the contents of the agreement. The most important thing for our country is that Bosnia-Herzegovina retains its continuity as an international and legal entity within its existing borders. What will be decisive for the preservation of the state, bearing in mind the fact that it consists of two entities that will contain those trends that have worked for the destruction of our country?

[Silajdzic] Of course, everything depends on peace. Those destroying Bosnia-Herzegovina favor war. The

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war started to destroy Bosnia-Herzegovina as a state, to destroy the people, civilization, values, resources, infrastructure, history, culture — that is, everything that makes Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Such a destruction is impossible in peacetime. So, peace in itself weakens the forces that want to destroy Bosnia-Herzegovina and, at the same time, peace strengthens the position of those who want economic and social revival of Bosnia-Herzegovina and its reintegration. So, the peace changes the balance of power in favor of the survival of Bosnia and of the prospects that I have mentioned.

[Dziho] The constitutional arrangements drawn up in Dayton clearly state that the state of Bosnia-Herzegovina continues to realize its international legal continuity. Are the constitutional arrangements that concern the central authorities sufficient to overcome the reintegration forces?

[Silajdzic] You mean disintegration. With regard to the central institutions of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Bosnia-Herzegovina can function as a state, realize its international subjectivity, and protect its territorial integrity, and if you remember when we set off, we said that we were going to achieve these two things — sovereignty and integrity, and the institutions to achieve and protect them. However, this is a process, the beginning of a process, and I believe that the beginning of establishing the functions of the central bodies is quite satisfactory.

[Dziho] After the signing in Paris we expect the arrival of NATO forces, that is, the implementation of what was agreed in Dayton. Is one year, as envisaged, sufficient in your view for the NATO forces to implement the part of the agreement, the military part, that is the main reason for them coming?

[Silajdzic] One year in Bosnia is at the present moment a very long period. We are living through a very condensed history. Each day is eventful, so a year is a very long period. It all depends how we make use of it. The consequences of the war, which has lasted for almost four years, are great, but this does not mean that a year should not be long enough to create a basis for a process of recovery, reconstruction, reintegration; although, this process will of course take a long time. I think that a year is long enough. If a year is not enough, then 10 years will not be either, in my view. I also think that the international community will not be here forever to protect Bosnia-Herzegovina, and that is not what we want. We want to be sovereign, we want to be, as they say, a mature country, so we must take responsibility for ourselves. These forces are to help us get over the lack of trust after all that has happened, but it is up to us to use the conditions created to build a new society, a new country, a new economy, and so on.

[Dziho] On the subject of the NATO forces that will consist of about 60,000 soldiers, and of these a little over 20,000 U.S. soldiers, the plan precisely spells out what will happen if one side hampers or obstructs the Dayton agreement. Is NATO a sufficient force; does it have the power to carry out what has been agreed?

[Silajdzic] Of course it is, there is no doubt of that. However, no one can bring us lasting peace if we ourselves do not want it in Bosnia-Herzegovina. No one can do that. There is always the possibility of someone setting an ambush, finding some explosives, killing someone. There is no doubt that no one can do it for us, if we do not want to ourselves. The main question is whether those forces, who as we have just said were for the disintegration, the destruction of Bosnia-Herzegovina, whether those people have now finally accepted Bosnia-Herzegovina as it is now, as it has existed more or less since the ninth century up to the 19th century, to the 20th century, in other words for 11 centuries; whether they accept that it will continue to exist, and that attempts to disintegrate Bosnia, to tear it apart, are futile, and are in no one's interest, and that this plan has finally failed.

We are returning to our roots, returning to Bosnia, in some places together, in others alongside each other. This has to be so whether we like it or not. So we must all cooperate with these forces, with the international community. No force or power can prevent the individual, the extremist, from doing something against peace. It is we who have to do it. There has been too much destruction, there are too many dead and too much misery for us to allow individuals to carry on in this way.

[Dziho] Nevertheless, the latest events in the parts of Sarajevo that are under the control of Karadzic, and all the manipulation being used by Karadzic, indicate that he will not; it certainly looks like it from here. What do you think, will there be problems?

[Silajdzic] If those people allow themselves to be manipulated.

[Dziho] How big is Karadzic right now? How great is his influence?

[Silajdzic] He probably does influence those people who want destruction, who in fact do not know what to do with themselves, who promised so much to the people, who have full control of the media and so on. Probably the influence is considerable, because the people have clearly not even been properly acquainted with the Dayton agreement. Things are being imposed on people.

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They are being subjected to manipulation that I think is intended to put those people, who have been leading the people up until now in a position of strength, in a strong position that will later allow them to negotiate and compromise on their survival as individuals, and so on.

There are many issues here, however. I think that, as I listen to Serbs from various areas of Bosnia-Herzegovina under occupation, the majority are [words indistinct] from Bijeljina and Banja Luka. For us it is important what Banja Luka says, as the largest center there. This is very positive, and people realize that they have to turn to peace, that they have to think in terms of peace and not war, and that those who are stirring up trouble now are saying the same thing as they did four years ago. Their time is up.

I will tell you something that happened in Dayton. A member of the Serbian delegation, a Serb from Bosnia, said in Dayton that we should separate, that everything we had could be divided and that we could then live happily ever after. I remember that about four years ago the same man said the same thing at a roundtable discussion, a symposium in the assembly, which everyone who was there remembers. So the same man said the same thing: Happiness lies in division, and we can divide even a needle in a haystack.

[Dziho] This means that such people have not changed...

[Silajdzic, interrupting] Even four and a half years later we have the same thing, the same story. I asked him in Dayton whether he said that; he said yes. After four and a half years you still say the same thing. So, after everything we went through in these four years, all tragedies, all casualties and the obvious futility of such a project, which is not for this century, which is for a life in another film, for some other people, they still insist on the same thing. All these casualties, all these tragedies have not taught them a thing. Maybe the division of a wasteland is possible, but the division of a 15-story building, of people who live together? And how to take away the old orthodox church from Sarajevo? That which has been built over hundreds of years should be separated, divided, and put into ghettos, etc.? Not just NATO, but even the entire world police would not be [words indistinct].

There is a small fault, in fact, a big fault, that is a Bosnian problem. Bosnians and Herzegovians do not know their history, because it has always been written by others.

[Dziho] Has the time come for us to...

[Silajdzic, interrupting] The time has come for us to write history. We should tell these people that this is their country, that this is our country, that we should turn to ourselves.

It is finally clear to everyone who was a refugee in a neighboring country that there is no Bosnia anywhere else, that this is their homeland, that they are not welcomed anywhere else but here...

[Dziho, interrupting] Regardless of religion, nationality...

[Silajdzic, interrupting] You know we are all Bosnians. In talks with [Serbian President] Milosevic, he told me openly: You are all Bosnians to us and we are fed up with it; you live there, we do not need guests. These are his words. I had the impression that he was sincere.

So, finally, we should know at least a little bit about the history of this Bosnia. This Bosnia is for all of us. This Bosnia, which we have tried — and have finally succeeded in preserving, at great cost — to preserve within its current borders, is not Muslim, Croat, or Serb, but our Bosnia. [passage omitted]

We should finally come to our senses and turn to our tasks and forget the war. I know that this is difficult, especially to those who have lost (?their families). But we will achieve nothing if we constantly go against the tide of the history.

These are different times. We are heading toward the reintegration of the state. It is difficult to live, it is difficult to get a job, it is difficult to build a factory, which war has destroyed, without us bickering about whether we need a central bank, a central government. We all need them, if we think sensibly. If we continue with this, then we do not deserve peace. [passage omitted]

[Silajdzic] The message [of the Dayton agreement] is we live and we will continue to live in one country.

[Dziho] Of course, with two entities.

[Silajdzic] Yes, with two entities. America has 50 entities, and this does not stop her from being the greatest country in the world.

[Dziho] So, there should be no problems regarding the internal organization of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

[Silajdzic] Well, the internal organization is the way it is. But I think that everything we have, everything that is written — and this includes 15-16 documents written on 150 pages, and some of the documents are complicated legal documents — is aimed at preserving Bosnia and preserving it as one state, at reintegrating it and making its internal borders less and less relevant. The world did not want to deal with Bosnia in [word indistinct]

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10 years' time. Bosnia is one country; you have to live within it like all other nations; we will assist you a little bit — I do not believe in some significant assistance — we will help your development a little bit and help you to start living normally, but the world community has other tasks. This is the message.

[Dziho] Unfortunately, reality gained through war is a state with two entities.

[Silajdzic] All this can be changed. It is important now that we embark upon the road of peace, the road of reintegration, the road of reconstruction in the next year, or two or three. If one day that assembly, in which, I hope, sensible people and not extremists will sit, decides to do something else, to make internal borders even less relevant or to do something else, but always within the framework of one Bosnia [words indistinct] what people's representatives, who must be elected in an honest, secret ballot, what the assembly decides will have to be implemented.

[Dziho] Perhaps the first post-war elections should be viewed in that context? Our side insisted in Dayton that the elections should be direct, and that was accepted. There is great optimism concerning the outcome of the forthcoming elections.

[Silajdzic] You know that before Dayton, in Sarajevo, we insisted on this issue, despite numerous obstacles. We demanded (?secret), direct elections under the supervision of the international community. We went even further in Dayton. We suggested that the international community and its organizations should organize everything needed for the elections, not only supervise them. They rejected this and said it was not right. They are right in a certain way. Our elections should not be organized by someone else. We wanted that because of a lack of trust in the outcome of the elections. But they promised they would be present at all crucial stages of the elections, so we could fully trust their outcome.

A compromise was reached in Dayton. We suggested and insisted on direct elections that would be held throughout the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

[Dziho] At the same time?

[Silajdzic] Yes. The other side at first rejected that kind of election, then it rejected direct elections, and the final compromise was to hold [separate] direct elections in entities. I think this is a huge step toward the democratization of Bosnian society and Bosnian politics. This is very important.

These elections will give a chance to change the balance of power, which is what is important. As I said, in the areas where there are extremists, people who will ask for normal and reasonable solutions will surface. I think that no one, in any entity, will choose warmongers, people who will demand war, who will talk about changing borders in Europe and in the Balkans and so on, as they have done before. This will not happen, as we showed in Dayton, too. After all, Bosnia-Herzegovina is organically and historically united. Bosnia-Herzegovina has never been either Serbia or Croatia. There have been times when the reverse was true. Parts of these two countries were Bosnia. So, no one has any historic right to claim us. We will not allow that. Within Bosnia-Herzegovina we will have to reach agreements. This generation lives as it lives, but we can do something better for our children. It all depends on us.

[Dziho] Let us go back to the Dayton negotiations, as you said they lasted three weeks [words indistinct]. A unified Sarajevo was a great success for our side, for the legal authorities. Was it difficult to achieve this, despite the fact that [U.S. Secretary of State Warren] Christopher said at the beginning of the negotiations that Bosnia-Herzegovina would be unified and Sarajevo would be a single city?

[Silajdzic] Well, negotiations and declarations are two different things. However, I think wisdom prevailed. Sarajevo cannot be divided. Whoever feels it can be divided will find it difficult to explain how this can be done. Sarajevo is organically united and all its parts are interdependent — economy, hospitals, culture, schools. You cannot just divide it and build some kind of bridges, Berlin walls, and so on. It is simply an irrational standpoint and it leads to this type of calamity.

I think that Milosevic understood this, albeit after many hours of talks with Mr. Izetbegovic and me in particular, and in the presence of [Montenegrin President] Bulatovic. We reached an agreement and no one is satisfied with it. Some people have private reasons for this, which is completely normal because their towns, homes, and farms have been left in the area that we call the other side's, and which is currently inaccessible. Even if the division were different, if we had a 70 to 30 ratio, towns and property would still stay on the other side. Let me say in conclusion, no division of Bosnia is just, regardless of percentages, even if we are talking about internal demarcation.

There can be no justice in Bosnia after what happened, after so much death, so much suffering. Why is then this agreement good? It is good because it can stop new suffering. If we can reach peace through negotiations, it is our duty to do so. We could have done this through war. There is no shortage of ammunition or the will to fight on our side. We have enough of both, but a chance emerged to do this in a peaceful way. I think that if we

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have a chance to do this, than it is our duty to do it. That is why we accepted the Dayton agreement, to cause less injustice.

[Dziho] I have to ask you about Brcko. Brcko will go to arbitration. What will be our main argument for the federation to have access to the river Sava?

[Silajdzic] As you know, on 20 November we suspended the talks over the issue of Brcko and the corridor. We were to go back home in the morning without finishing the business. Fortunately, Mr. Milosevic's delegation agreed to postpone finding a solution to this problem and to solve the issue through arbitration one year after the signing of the agreement. That was the only possible solution. This, of course, does not mean the solution cannot be sought in the meantime, with both sides' consent, to right a huge injustice, which is that most residents of Brcko are not in Brcko. They have been either killed or driven out. I think we should show more initiative and imagination to see how this problem can be solved.

The river Sava cannot be taken away from the federation. Let me remind you that all the towns, but one, on the Sava had a Bosniak Muslim majority; all of them, except Bosanski Brod. In Brcko itself there was only one municipality — called 1 May — in which Bosniaks did not have a majority. So, most people have been expelled or, unfortunately, killed. We cannot do anything for the dead, but some kind of solution must be found for those who were expelled. I think we need not wait one year. This is what the Dayton agreement specifies, but if there is agreement between the two sides, everything can be solved.

I think that when things calm down, after a certain period of time, we must start thinking about it and take the initiative when Brcko is at issue, because there are people waiting for us to solve this problem.

[Dziho] You mentioned the refugees. A whole annex was dedicated to the refugees and people expelled from their homes. It seems that the Dayton agreement, or rather the annex dealing with the return of refugees, does not provide for instruments that would guarantee that this problem will be solved, that all refugees will return to their homes.

[Silajdzic] The agreement addressed this issue, and it ensures the right [to return] on a piece of paper, but this needs to be achieved. On paper everyone has the right to return and be compensated — they can choose. But all this is only on paper; the return depends on many factors, primarily on peace. A whole mechanism has been set up. A lot has been written about it. The UNHCR [UN High Commissioner for Refugees] — a UN agency — has a leading role; it is the leading agency in the issue of return. The mechanism will work on ensuring conditions for the return of refugees.

Let me say this straight away: This is the most difficult task ahead of us and the international community. Both us and the international community are obliged to do everything we can. They say they will do everything they can. As you know, Mrs. [Sadako] Ogata, head of the UNHCR, visited Sarajevo recently. I will tell you straight away that we did not agree on certain issues. We disagreed over priorities for return. We believe that people who were first to be expelled, who were treated as real refugees, who suffered most and went the farthest should be the first to return.

[Dziho] Those who are scattered all over the world?

[Silajdzic] Yes, there are many reasons for that. [passage indistinct] We cannot allow them to become alienated, to forget who they are, forget their language, regardless of what nationality or religion they are. This is why their return is necessary.

Some people will return, some will never come back, as we saw from examples other than Bosnia. This will probably happen in Bosnia. Our task is to make sure there are as few people who will not return as possible.

[Dziho] [passage omitted including indistinct portion]

[Silajdzic] You asked me whether I was an optimist concerning the speed of economic recovery. I cannot say how quickly this will happen, but in general I am optimistic about reconstruction and the economic recovery of Bosnia-Herzegovina. I have many reasons to be an optimist: from the existing economic structure, through personnel, to our position and our position on the international scene where many good opportunities are being offered to us. The international community will invest in the reconstruction of Bosnia. So, I am an optimist.

If we act wisely, it all depends on us. No one can repair the damage that has been done unless we do it. I think we have a good opportunity now, the opportunity that a country is given once in 1,000 years. We will be able to take a big step to compensate for our backwardness and join the new technological generations. We can do that. [words indistinct] When we all understand that we must live here, that this is our only homeland and that we have no other, when we all turn to building Bosnia-Herzegovina, not pulling it apart — good things will (?follow). When everyone understands that the central bank — regardless of what it is called — is our bank, that it should benefit us and our children, things will start working well.

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It is beyond dispute that economic processes will function internally. This is in answer to your second question.

Economic resources are important, but the side that wants to cut them off, isolate them within its own entity, that side will not be able to take advantage of economic support, if for no other reason than because it will not be acting rationally in the economic sense. So, cutting off and isolation run counter to the trend of opening up and cooperating which, as you know, is prevalent in the world nowadays. We live in a global village, as it is often called. [passage omitted]

If we do not act in a rational way, we will not be able to take advantage of this opportunity. If we do not take it now, there will be no other chance. Whoever closes the door on the market economy will have dead capital in economic resources, which no one needs. This is why I am talking about elections, about rational people who will make rational decisions and think about peace, not war. [passage omitted]

[Dziho] We have around 10 minutes left. Let us go back to the part of the agreement that addresses the federation. The agreement on the implementation of the federation was the first signed in Dayton. The leading parties — the SDA [Party of Democratic Action] and the HDZ [Croat Democratic Union of Bosnia-Herzegovina] — yesterday reached a political agreement to observe the deadlines. I think that at a session yesterday the [Bosnian] government prepared certain laws for a session of the constituent assembly convened for 11 December. Have any steps been made concerning that? After Dayton, has the political climate been created to go forward with the federation?

[Silajdzic] We reached an agreement in Dayton, and there are no two ways about it. We agreed on something and that must be implemented. We cannot play forever with our people, our nations, and with the world; make agreements, change dates, spin the same yarns with no end, and never do anything. That cannot go on. The government has been in session for a few days now with only that issue on the agenda.

The government will submit draft laws to the assembly in line with the Dayton (?process). Tomorrow is the deadline and we will do it tomorrow. We have been in session for a few days, constantly working on that issue in order to comply with the tasks set out in Dayton. [passage indistinct] The government is obliged to submit the draft laws to the assembly by 10 December. The assembly must approve them by 20 December.

Thirty days after that we will have one government in the territory of the federation. The setup of Herzeg-Bosna will cease to exist. The government of the federation will split from the republic's government. There will be only one government in the territory of the federation, which is normal. There is no alternative.

I think this is very good, but again, it depends on us. If we think that the competences that will remain in the central government, in the republic's government, are good for one nation, but not for the other — I would like someone to explain to me how this is possible. It is very difficult to get rid of obsessions of this kind, but we have to do that at some point. The central government in Bosnia-Herzegovina is the government of Bosnia-Herzegovina, of every citizen of Bosnia-Herzegovina, and that is the end of it. When we understand this, when we understand that we all need it, that without it we cannot cooperate even with the International Red Cross, let alone with the IMF and the World Bank... [changes thought] The world and the international community function according to certain rules. We must comply with these rules. We cannot be different, we cannot have a government, a non-government, a government at the first, second, and third level, and expect the world to understand us. The world does not have time for that. The world expects us to have peace. They will help us restore peace and then it expects us to set up institutions which correspond to the institutions throughout the world and do things in the way they are done everywhere else.

It is only under these circumstances that the international community will cooperate with us. This is stated in the Dayton agreement and we have worked on it. As you know, people from the IMF, the World Bank, the United Nations, and other organizations have been here and we are working on that.

There will always be those who will hinder the operation for many reasons. However, we ourselves should rise against them and prevent their destructiveness. Above all we should think of Bosnia's future and the future of our people. [passage omitted]

[Dziho] Speaking about the London conference of donor countries, let us say something about the aid Bosnia-Herzegovina needs so urgently. The amount of $3.7 billion has been mentioned.

[Silajdzic] I believe that our listeners would like to know about this. In fact, there is talk of the sum of $6 billion. In the beginning the sum was $5 billion. You know that we believe that the damage is much greater, in the region of tens of billions of dollars, but we cannot expect the international community to repair all damage. The international community can provide the initial capital. [passage omitted]

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As far as I am aware, the U.S. administration is negotiating with Congress; America is ready to give us $200 million a year, or a total of 600 million over three years for the civilian part; this does not include military spending.

All this could be a lot or a little. It is all relative. It is important that we use the initial capital given to us well. If we do not use it in a useful way, (?it will not be good). Our spending must be useful, we must be able to show some results. [words indistinct] [passage omitted]

[Dziho] Peace brings many topics for discussion, but our time is up. Thank you very much, Mr. Silajdzic.

[Silajdzic] Thank you.

Izetbegovic: Serbs Need To Be Educated on Accord

AU0812205895 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 8 Dec 95

[Report by Belma Kursumlic on a news conference held by Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency, and Richard Holbrooke, U.S. assistant secretary of state, in Sarajevo on 8 December — recorded]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Kursumlic] At the end of the news conference, Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency, said the following in response to a question asked by a foreign correspondent:

[Izetbegovic] We believe that the Serb population in Bosnia-Herzegovina has not been sufficiently acquainted with the provisions of the Dayton agreement. On the contrary, they are strongly influenced by Chetnik propaganda. In the future, our television, which two-thirds of the Serb population watch, is going to be more active in explaining to them the provisions of this agreement. We are going to be sending strong messages to the Serb people that they are safe in Bosnia-Herzegovina. This is envisaged by the Dayton agreement and we have every intention of consistently implementing it.

Delic, Izetbegovic on Army 3d Corps Anniversary

LD1012153095 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 10 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The ceremony marking the third anniversary of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army 3d Corps was held in Zenica today. [passage omitted]

At the beginning of his address the commander of our army's general staff, Army General Rasim Delic, congratulated the 3d Corps on behalf of all commanders, and paid tribute to the civilians who contributed to the building of the corps and the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army as a whole. At the end of his speech he said a few words about what we are today and what lies ahead:

[Begin Delic recording] I congratulate you on today's anniversary, and wish all of us and all of you a great deal of good luck in the days ahead, which will still be difficult and full of uncertainty. But, looking at these units here and other units throughout Bosnia-Herzegovina, I know and I promise, before the president, who is our supreme commander, and before the civilians, that the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army will carry out its task fully, whether we want to observe and wind up everything that was agreed in the Dayton agreement, or whether we need to be the guarantor of the survival of this people and this country today, tomorrow, and in the future. Good luck in peace to all of us. [end recording]

Clearly moved by the magnificent atmosphere and the size of our defense force, Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic first congratulated the 3d Corps fighters on their heroic struggle for freedom, and recalled his tours of front lines when everyone promised him: Do not worry, they will not pass. We owe them a great deal for everything they gave to their homeland, and we must not forget the children of dead soldiers and the invalids, President Izetbegovic said. He ended his speech by saying what we should do in the future:

[Begin Izetbegovic recording] We will carry out our obligations toward our dead soldiers. We will carry out our obligations toward our invalids. We will educate our children, we will open factories, build houses, bring back our people, our refugees scattered around world. We will do everything to punish the criminals. We promise to do all this with God's help. We will unite our Bosnia-Herzegovina. Thank you. [end recording] [passage omitted]

The strength of central Bosnia paraded through Zenica Boulevard in front of our president and military leaders. President Izetbegovic had the following to say about it:

[Begin Izetbegovic recording] For me, this is not a parade of personnel and equipment but a parade of courage and capability of our people. Why courage and capability? Because our soldiers captured from the enemy a good part of the equipment you will see. They acquired this equipment with their courage. The other part of the equipment we manufactured ourselves in our factories, owing to our know-how and our people's capability. [end recording] [passage omitted]

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NATO Preliminary Force Deployment 'On Schedule'

AU0912151795 Paris AFP in English 1339 GMT 9 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, Dec 9 (AFP) — Preparations underway for the arrival of 60,000 NATO troops into Bosnia once a peace agreement is signed next Thursday in Paris is "on schedule" a NATO spokesman said Saturday.

"Everything is going to plan and on schedule," Major Simon Haselock, a NATO spokesman said here.

Several hundred NATO troops from the Alliance's Allied Rapid Reaction Corps (ARCC) have arrived in Bosnia in recent days. Haselock said a total of 350 NATO soldiers, including 47 Americans, from an advance so-called enabling team of planning officers will be in the country by the end of Saturday.

Their job is to set up communications and to "make sure we understand what the current situation is so that the forward headquarters (of ARCC) can run operations from the TOA (transfer of authority)," a NATO officer said.

Most of the soldiers are currently in an existing UN base in Kiseljak, a town 20 kilometers (12.5 miles) north of Sarajevo. For the moment there is not sufficient space to house the NATO officers in Sarajevo.

Only Bosnia's early winter appeared to have caused any problems for the deployment of the advance team which by the end of next week will number some 2,600 troops. The country's infrastructure is in poor shape too after three and a half years of war.

"In every plan you consider environmental factors but until you stand in the snow and look at the road you cannot appreciate the problems," the NATO officer who requested anonymity said.

A peace plan for Bosnia, negotiated at US brokered talks in Dayton, Ohio last month will be signed in Paris on December 14. Five days later, on December 19 the commander of UN forces, French General Bernard Janvier is due to hand over authority to Admiral Leighton Smith, commander of NATO forces Southern Europe, a UN spokesman said.

On this day French and British UN peacekeepers and UN troops from other NATO countries already in Bosnia will swap their blue UN berets for their national uniform caps. A total 20,000 US troops due to be based in the northeast of the country will begin to deploy within hours US NATO Spokesman Major Thomas Moyer said.

However, Moyer declined to give a timetable for the American deployment saying it was a "national security issue."

Alliance troops will be deployed simultaneously as UN soldiers not intending to stay for the NATO implementation force will withdraw. However "the priority will be to bring in the new forces rather than to extract those that wish to leave but are not transferring," the NATO officer said.

Croats Stop British UN Troops in Mrkonjic Grad

LD1112135695 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1240 GMT 11 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Dec 11 (TANJUG) — Bosnian Croat forces have prevented British U.N. troops from passing through Mrkonjic Grad, despite promising cooperation in the preparations for the arrival of NATO troops into central Bosnia, U.N. officials said Monday.

Croatian military police stopped Sunday evening five British armoured personnel carriers as they tried to pass through Mrkonjic Grad, western Bosnia, which Croats have been burning and systematically looting because the Dayton peace agreement returned it to Serbs, REUTERS reported.

The U.N. was told it had to give 24 hours' written notice before it could travel through the area.

Journalists travelling with the U.N. saw at least four burning houses lighting up the sky sunday evening, the British news agency said.

A factory near Mrkonjic Grad burst into flames just as two trucks drove away from it, and the Croatian military police blocked the movement of reporters who were told that that the region was still a "war zone".

In nearby Sipovo which the Croats also captured in October and are now obliged to hand back to Serbs, U.N. personnel said houses were burning at a rate of 10 to 15 a day.

A U.N. officer working in the area said two convoys a day of a dozen trucks leave Sipovo with looted goods.

"The saw factory had all its machinery ripped out, its timber driven away and then it was torched," the officer said.

The U.N. Security Council has condemned the looting and arson and demanded it stop.

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Pressure Mounts To Find Missing French Pilots

Sacirbegovic Thinks Milosevic Can Help

AU0912152695 Paris AFP in English
1042 GMT 9 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] London, Dec 9 (AFP) — Bosnian Foreign Minister Muhamed Sacirbegovic said here Saturday [9 December] he was "certain" Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic could find out what had happened to two French pilots missing in Bosnian Serb territory.

As an international conference on implementing a Bosnian peace accord began a second day, Sacirbey told BBC radio he was "very sympathetic" to the French position.

France has warned Milosevic that it expected him to provide it with concrete information on the fate of the pilots, shot down during a NATO bombing mission three months ago, "before Sunday night."

"I would think Mr. Milosevic would be smarter than to allow these two pilots to be held in territories he controls, by forces he controls. Nonetheless there may be something he can do to at least get information regarding their safety," Sacirbegovic said.

"In fact, I'm quite certain he can do that because by and large he does control all the military forces on the Serb side, whether in Bosnia or in Serbia proper."

French Foreign Minister Herve de Charette told British Prime Minister John Major on Friday that his government sought "precise information and proof" on the pilots' fate.

He did not disclose the measures that would be taken if Milosevic failed to deliver, but warned such a failure "would place the (Bosnian) peace process in great danger."

Sacirbegovic said the row over who was holding the pilots was "untimely" given that the Dayton peace accord is due to be formally signed Thursday in Paris.

Milosevic represented the Bosnian Serbs in talks leading to the peace deal in the United States last month, and France has held him accountable for the safety of the pilots.

Bosnian Serbs 'Hope' For News

AU0912191395 Paris AFP in English
1900 GMT 9 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] London, Dec 9 (AFP) — Bosnian Serbs hope to have more information Sunday [10 December] about two French pilots whose jet was downed during a NATO air raid near Sarajevo in August, a senior Bosnian Serb official said here.

There will be nothing today but "perhaps tomorrow," Nikola Koljevic, the Serbs' "vice president" told BBC radio Saturday.

Koljevic spoke after French Foreign Minister Herve de Charette refused to indicate how France might respond if Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic failed to respond to a Sunday deadline for the return of the two missing French pilots.

He had said "the objective is that the pilots be returned and that the Paris conference be held," referring to Thursday's gathering in the French capital where the Bosnia peace accords reached last month are to be signed.

"We have been taking very serious measures (to look) for the pilots and I hope that we might get some news, if not today, perhaps tomorrow," Koljevic said on the sidelines of the London conference on the reconstruction of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

"Everybody is working very hard on that and I hope we have some results."

The Bosnian Serbs are being represented by rump Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) at the London conference, as they were at the meeting in Dayton, Ohio, last month, which produced the Bosnia peace accords.

No Word From Serb Authorities

AU1012144295 Paris AFP in English
1308 GMT 10 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Pale, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Dec 10 (AFP) — The Bosnian Serb authorities had yet to respond by mid-day Sunday (1200 GMT) to France's ultimatum to provide information by Sunday on two French air force pilots shot down over Bosnia in August.

Neither Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic nor his deputy Momcilo Krajisnik were in Pale, their home base 15 kilometres (nine miles) east of Sarajevo, and there was nothing about France's demand in the local press.

On Saturday the Bosnian Serb leaders were in Banja Luka, in the north of Bosnia-Herzegovina, where they presided over a meeting of their Serbian Democratic Party.

Official accounts of the meeting carried no references to the pilots.

But the speaker of the Bosnian Serb parliament, Momcilo Krajisnik, said the Bosnian Serb authorities would

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insist that Karadzic be present in Paris to formally sign the Dayton peace accord.

"The leadership of the (self-declared) Serb Republic will insist that its president Radovan Karadzic personally signs the peace accord on December 14 in Paris," he said in Banja Luka on Saturday.

France has not specified what measures it might impose if the deadline is not met. The pilots were downed August 30 near Pale while on a sortie in their Mirage 2000 fighter jet and have not been seen since.

Serbs Under 'Mounting' Pressure

AU1012155395 Paris AFP in English
1506 GMT 10 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] Pale, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Dec 10 (AFP) — Bosnian Serb authorities were under mounting international pressure to respond to a French deadline of late Sunday for news of two pilots shot down over Bosnia three months ago.

With hours to go before the deadline expires — although no specific time has been set — there was still no word as to what had happened to them, who was holding them, or even confirmation they were still alive.

German Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel called on Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic "to show he has the situation under control and can impose his will" regardless of Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic.

"Karadzic and (Bosnian Serb military commander Ratko) Mladic should not be brought into this. There is a warrant out for their arrest. They should answer for their deeds at the international tribunal in The Hague," he added.

"Once again I urge the Serb side to free the two French pilots immediately. We believe they are alive and being held by the Bosnian Serbs."

Captain Frederic Chiffot and Lieutenant Jose Sauvignet were downed on August 30 near Pale while on a NATO bombing run. They have not been seen since. [passage omitted]

Karadzic Refuses To Comment

AU1112073495 Paris AFP in English
0045 GMT 11 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] Paris, Dec 11 (AFP) — A French ultimatum demanding the return by Sunday of two pilots shot down over Bosnian Serb territory expired without comment from Paris on measures to be taken against Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic.

Serbian authorities in Belgrade also kept silent Sunday, while Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic, whose forces brought down the Mirage 2000, refused to answer questions on the fate of the two men.

"Don't ask any questions of Mr. Karadzic about this affair," his spokesman instructed reporters in Banja Luka, in northwestern Bosnia.

French Foreign Minister Herve de Charette on Friday warned that the continued detention of the pilots could imperil a U.S.-brokered Bosnian peace accord that is due to be formally signed in Paris on Thursday.

In an ultimatum targeting Milosevic, who represented the Serbs in negotiations ahead of the agreement, Charette told the Serbian president that the pilots had to be returned to France by Sunday.

"We are determined to draw all the consequences from a refusal to meet our demands," he declared.

French authorities refused to disclose the measures being contemplated and the government here had issued no statement by midnight Sunday.

But Charette on Saturday stressed that France wanted Thursday's peace conference, expected to be attended by U.S. President Bill Clinton, to be held as planned. [passage omitted]

Milan Milutinovic, the foreign minister of federal Yugoslavia, now reduced to Serbia and Monetenegro, insisted late last week that his government did not know if the men were alive and stressed that Belgrade was not in command in Pale.

Nevertheless German Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel on Sunday called on Milosevic "to show he has the situation under control and can impose his will" regardless of Karadzic.

"Karadzic and (Bosnian Serb military commander Ratko) Mladic should not be brought into this. There is a warrant out for their arrest. They should answer for their deeds at the international tribunal in The Hague," he added.

"Once again I urge the Serb side to free the two French pilots immediately. We believe they are alive and being held by the Bosnian Serbs."

Serb Media Deny French Ultimatum

AU1112122695 Paris AFP in English
1152 GMT 11 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Pale, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Dec 11 (AFP) — Bosnian Serb leaders remained silent Monday over the fate of two French airmen shot down over Bosnia more than three months ago despite the

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expiration of a French ultimatum demanding the return of the pilots.

Bosnian Serb media meanwhile denied that Paris had issued an ultimatum at all over the fate of the two airmen, whose jet fighter was shot down near this Serb stronghold August 30, saying that France merely wanted to find out what had happened to the two.

French Foreign Minister Herve de Charette has also said France had not given an ultimatum to anyone, but that it had merely set a deadline to get explanations on the fate of the pilots, Bosnian Serb radio said Monday.

In an ultimatum targeting Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic, who represented the Serbs in negotiations ahead of the agreement, De Charette told the Serbian president that the pilots had to be returned to France by Sunday.

The French minister warned earlier that the continued detention of the pilots could imperil a U.S.-brokered Bosnian peace accord that is due to be formally signed in Paris on Thursday.

But Serb radio said De Charette did not really believe the deadlock over the pilots could really jeopardise the signature of the peace agreement, reached last month at Dayton, Ohio.

On Sunday Serbian authorities in Belgrade also kept silent, while Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic, whose forces brought down the Mirage 2000, refused to answer questions on the fate of the two men.

Serb Leader Karadzic Addresses Forum in Brcko

On 'Strategic Importance' of Brcko

LD0912093395 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 0152 GMT 9 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Brcko, 9 Dec (SRNA) — Dr. Radovan Karadzic, president of the Serb Republic, said last night [8 December] that "Brcko is of primary strategic importance to the Serb Republic," and that he expected just international arbitration on the question of resolving the town's status.

"At present the most important thing is that Brcko is in our hands," President Karadzic said at a forum entitled "Brcko — A Link in the Serb Nation Even After Dayton," and he expressed the conviction that it would remain so in the future too, although this issue "has been subsequently raised as a problem because of various influences and interests."

"The Serbs have a much greater interest in Brcko than the Croats or Muslims, because this town links the western and eastern parts of the Serb Republic," Karadzic explained.

Speaking at last night's forum in Brcko, Momcilo Krajisnik, president of the Serb assembly, said the Serb negotiating team in Dayton was put under "unprecedented pressure" to accept the factual situation and refrain from demanding a 20-km wide corridor.

"It remains for us to campaign for Brcko in the coming negotiations with powerful arguments, because without Brcko the Serb Republic is unimaginable," Krajisnik said.

Speaking about the attitude of the Serb Republic to NATO forces responsible for implementing the Dayton agreement, President Karadzic and speaker Krajisnik said "the Serbs will respect all obligations that bring about peace" and cooperation with these forces will depend exclusively on their impartiality.

The forum, which was held in the Brcko cultural center, was attended by Bishop Vasilje of Zvornik and Tuzla; Branko Simic, deputy speaker of the people's assembly; representatives of the East Bosnia Corps of the Serb army; representatives of the municipality; and people's deputies from Krajina, Semberija, and Posavina. About 600 citizens of Brcko were in the audience.

On 'Political' Struggle for Sarajevo

LD0912221695 Pale Srpska Telvizija in Serbo-Croatian 1930 GMT 9 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Radovan Karadzic, president of the [Bosnian] Serb Republic, and Momcilo Krajisnik, president of the People's Assembly, last night spoke about Serb postwar priorities at a forum in Brcko attended by 600 people. Stressing the significance of Brcko, which links the Serb nation even after Dayton, Karadzic said:

[Begin Karadzic recording] Brcko is of strategic importance for the Serb Republic, it links its two wings or its two parts, and that is why it must stay Serb. We cannot even imagine that international arbiters can make a different decision; if they do they will bring about a new war.

It is difficult for me even to mention the injustice we have suffered regarding Sarajevo which we did not lose, which we defended. Sarajevo is on Serb land, and it had a Serb majority for centuries. They were so unjust that a new solution must now be found for Serb Sarajevo, and the international community is now aware of its mistake in Sarajevo. The Serbs in Sarajevo will never allow the Muslim authorities to come anywhere near the Serb parts of the city, i.e., the Serb city.

If they transformed Sarajevo into two neighboring cities it would not have been a divided city. We would have

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two cities with two regimes, two traffic systems, two infrastructures, and some joint elements. Of course, we could have done a lot together. This solution is wrong, and the international community is already aware that Sarajevo must be solved in a different way. There will be thousands and thousands of dead if the Sarajevo Serbs leave, if they leave in chaos, torching and destroying both their own and the Muslim part of the city. In that case the Serbs would lose a lot.

If they stay and accept the Muslim authorities it will be the most painful injustice — 10 percent of the population of the Serb Republic who fought, liberated themselves, and preserved their freedom would have to accept Muslim rule. This is also out of question.

Therefore, the only thing left is for the Serbs to stay in Sarajevo without accepting the Muslim authorities. These two facts are written in stone and the international community must take them into account. We do not want to go and we do not want to accept the Muslim authorities. We want our freedom, our political institutions; we want our own city for ourselves. Our standpoint is based on these two facts and the international community must take them into account if it does not want to have a Beirut.

If the Serbs leave Sarajevo the international community will have a Tehran. In several years there will be a million Muslims there and it will be ethnically pure. They will, of course, introduce their Islamic tradition, Islamic laws. We have nothing against Tehran, in Asia. However, it is our opinion that we have to oppose a Tehran in the Serb heartland and in Europe. Europe itself must be against it.

Therefore, we have a struggle ahead of us but a political one. We will not hinder the implementation. If a solutions is found for Sarajevo there will be no problems in Sarajevo either. We will not hinder the implementation in any part of the Serb Republic. We want peace and peace is on offer. It is not completely just and the solution is quite painful for us but we still want to embrace that peace with both arms because we are [words indistinct] and we do not want to sacrifice our children.

We do want peace and we can say that as a party — even though I do not want to speak on behalf of the party because we were all one party in the beginning — and as a people, as a state we have achieved a great part of our goals. Our goals were unjustly limited regarding territorial issues in all of our provinces. They were also unjustly limited regarding the political solution because we were supposed to get full independence or unification with Serbia. However, we can achieve these goals at later stages and what is essential is the fact that we have created a Serb state west of the river Drina and realized an ancient dream, the ultimate goal of all nations. [end recording]

Karadzic, Krajisnik Address Banja Luka SDS

Karadzic on 'Political Battle'

LD0912234395 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 2253 GMT 9 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Banja Luka, 9 Dec (SRNA) — Radovan Karadzic, the president of the [Bosnian] Serb Republic, and Momcilo Krajisnik, speaker of the People's Assembly, this evening took part in the work of the new Municipal Committee of the Serb Democratic Party of Serb Lands in Banja Luka.

In his introductory speech, Karadzic said that "over the past five years the Serb Democratic Party has achieved great results that will be of epochal importance if a better territorial division had been achieved in Dayton."

The president recalled the injustice done to some parts of the Republic, especially to [Bosnian] Krajina, Posavina, Serb Sarajevo, and the Neretva River valley.

"In a political sense we have achieved complete independence, although we are staying in some kind of union. Owing to our delegation in Dayton, we managed to ensure that this union is not a solid state," Karadzic said.

He particularly stressed the need for the party to be fully mobilized in the upcoming period because "a big political battle — at the level of the state — for a historic achievement is ahead of us."

"This will be achieved if we do not allow any further integration of Bosnia-Herzegovina as a state," Karadzic said and added:

"We do not have to hide this option, because the Croats did not hide that they were against Yugoslavia over the past 70 years and they eventually got their independent state."

Karadzic stressed "that nationally committed deputies must be elected to the upper and lower house of the joint parliament, because that is the only way to avoid the threat of a larger degree of integration into Bosnia-Herzegovina."

Commenting on the Paris conference, Karadzic said war will definitely end, and a lasting peace will begin in the territory of former Bosnia-Herzegovina on 14 December, when the agreement is signed.

"That is why we have to adapt to such conditions, and the party and the new government must solve internal

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problems faster. The main priorities are to solve the status of and to provide for all families of invalids and soldiers killed in this war," Karadzic said.

According to him, the full integration of refugees in their new milieus and ensuring their full equality with other citizens of the Serb Republic is also an important task.

Apart from Karadzic and Krajisnik, the session was attended by Milovan Milanovic and Branko Simic, vice presidents of the People's Assembly.

Karadzic: War Ends in Paris

LD1012133595 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1312 GMT 10 Dec 95

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Banja Luka, Dec 10 (TANJUG) — The President of Republika Srpska (R.S. — Bosnian Serb state) said Saturday evening he believed the war would stop in Bosnia on December 14, when the peace agreement on that former Yugoslav republic is to be signed in Paris.

Addressing a newly formed Banja Luka committee of his Serb Democratic Party, Karadzic welcomed the results of the recent peace talks in Dayton, where it was agreed that two entities — R.S. and the Croat-Muslim federation would comprise a single state — the union of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The political independence of Republika Srpska achieved regardless of the union's existence is a great success of the Yugoslav delegation, Karadzic said.

This is a good basis for political efforts for R.S. independence and consolidation, he said, adding that the Serb side wanted peace regardless of painful compromises it had had to make.

'No Integral Bosnia' After Accord

LD1012235395 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 2330 GMT 9 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Banja Luka, 10 Dec (SRNA) — Momcilo Krajisnik, president of the People's Assembly of the [Bosnian] Serb Republic, told the municipal committee of the Serb Democratic Party of Serb Lands [SDS SZ] in Banja Luka this evening that there will definitely be no integral Bosnia after Dayton.

He said that "all patriotic forces must now unite and continue a political struggle in order to make our success complete." He reminded those present that the Serb Republic delegation refused to sign the map in Dayton because it was not consulted about it. [passage omitted] "We will demand that only a representative of our republic should sign the final peace deal in Paris," Krajisnik said.

Karadzic, Krajisnik Reassure Vukosavlje Residents

LD1012221895 Pale Srpska Televizija in Serbo-Croatian 1930 GMT 10 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Serbs are a truly proud, dignified, and extremely brave people. For example, not even thousands of shells scared them in Doboj and Brcko. In Vukosavlje [Odzak], a municipality and town on the right bank of the Sava [river], even the Dayton documents failed to frighten them. According to these documents, they should move out of that area. They say they do not even think of any kind of brotherhood and unity with Croats. They will not leave their town and municipality, either. We are going over to Vukosavlje where Radovan Karadzic, president of the Serb Republic and supreme commander of the Serb Republic Army and Momcilo Krajisnik, speaker of the People's Assembly have recently paid a visit. Our camera and microphone have recorded their spontaneous conversation with the people of Vukosavlje.

[Begin recording] [Karadzic, surrounded by crowd] Who is going to protect Croats from Serbs, because there are more of us here? Vukosavlje is full of Serbs. Do you think that anyone [Croats] will return?

[Unidentified woman] It is also encircled.

[Karadzic] Those who are encircled are also with us.

[Unidentified man] They are a plum tree and we are a beech tree, so which is bigger?

[Karadzic] A beech is bigger.

[Unidentified woman] It is good to see you without television.

[Karadzic] I think that the municipality leadership has a good idea, they have a vision, so they are going to work this out together with you. We have a solution. We have a solution based on our security and on our staying here. You are going to see it through together with your leadership. This is what is being worked on. I am now going to the municipal council of the Serbian Democratic Party. We are going to work on this there, too. You have to understand that they must not come here. The refugees who have now come here left in Vozuca, Ljeskovica, Gostovic, Jajce, in Kljuc, they left their property behind. Now please, their state and our state, let us settle our accounts and sort out who pays what, so we can strike a balance. I believe there will be, not before Paris, there will be various deals and various

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negotiations. We have to keep the Sava, to be on the Sava.

[Krajisnik] This is our first safe border.

[Karadzic] Here...

[Unidentified man, interrupting] What is the solution for Sarajevo?

[Karadzic] We are working on something similar for Sarajevo.

[Man] Any chance of us returning to Jajce?

[Karadzic] This is far more difficult than to hold on to Vukosavlje. It is far easier to keep Vukosavlje than to return to Jajce. Just stay together, all of you stay together and fear no one. No one can do any harm to you.

[Krajisnik] What the fundamental thing is — Serbs are overestimating their advantages while underestimating our advantages. The state must back you up. We have to do everything to protect people. People should not be threatened. If they have to move let us do it in an organized manner. They must be accommodated, they cannot, as this friend from Jajce says, I can only imagine how many times he has changed his place of residence. What we have devised for Sarajevo, we will devise the same for Vukosavlje, too. But the people have to follow its leadership. I know fear and uncertainty is the worst thing in a war. It is even worse than war, than death.

We have come here to convey assurances — people will not be left to their own devices. We have international police, IFOR forces, our police. There will be elections in six months' time. If we are [?winners] our authorities will remain. For as long as there are our authorities we have to work all this out. They are in a wedge and we have to make this happen. We can see it in their words — what is the purpose of having Odzak, as they call it, since we are wedged between three municipalities encircling us. This is the case.

We have just had discussions with our people. Dvor on the Una was ours, right? It is not a mixed area but it was ours. Who would go if someone told us now, here, have an island and cross over to it? People do not want to return even to Sipovo. This is why you have to be firm. You are Serbs, you are not just any other people. We must stay on and fight. This is what we told people in Sarajevo. They heeded it and this is what they have to do here, too.

[Karadzic] The worst thing is this nibbling that is going on, one by one leaving. The state should decide on alternative locations and you are going to be good patrons, even double patrons. Just stay together and do not...

[Unidentified man, interrupting] What about some privileges?

[Karadzic] You will have some privileges. [end recording]

Serb Government Appeals for Calm, Order

LD1012212995 Pale Srpska Televizija in Serbo-Croatian 1930 GMT 10 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] At its session held in Ilidza [western suburb of Sarajevo] today, the Government of the Serb Republic adopted a report on the activities of the headquarters responsible for the implementation of the Dayton agreement and agreed on its measures for the coming period. The heads of the headquarters for the municipalities of Konjic, Borci, Olovo, Srbinje [Foca], Vukosavlje [Odzak], and Sarajevo reported on their efforts to carry out their tasks since their formation and proposed measures that should be taken as soon as possible. The government approved emergency funds from the republic's budget for Serb Sarajevo. The government also endorsed a proposed draft law on changing and amending the law on ministries that envisages the creation of the Ministry for Refugees and Displaced Persons. The decision was also made to end electricity supply restrictions in the republic and a report was adopted on the work of duty-free shops.

[Correspondent Branka Nogo, identified by caption] One of the main points on the agenda of the 37th session of the Government of the Serb Republic, held for the first time in Ilidza, was the implementation of the Dayton agreement. Immediately after the session Prime Minister Dusan Kozic said the following:

[Begin Kozic recording, identified by caption] Today we adopted a series of specific conclusions and measures to ensure that the period and process ahead are under firm government control. I would like to ask our people to remain calm, patient, to believe the leadership and to help us make necessary moves in the period ahead.

These moves are, first and foremost, to ensure that the process is under control, as there is no reason for panic. All our measures are well thought through and organized, and all that has so far been done — the people of Serb Sarajevo should know that it has been under the control of the government and political leadership. Our future moves — and do not ask me to list them, as I said our people can feel and see it — will be made in agreement with businessmen, with the war presidencies, and relevant ministries. They will be very organized and, I repeat, what our people must draw from this statement is that there is no room for panic and that they must continue to be up to the task facing them. [end recording]

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[Nogo] The session also agreed on specific steps to be taken to restore the broadcasting and communications systems throughout the Serb Republic destroyed in NATO combat operations and air raids. Minister of Internal Affairs Tomislav Kovac again today stressed the unity of the people, the Army, and the Ministry of Internal Affairs units.

[Begin Kovac recording, identified by caption] Our message to our people is that they should not be afraid as far as their security is concerned. We can guarantee this, and there is no need for panic or uncontrolled behavior. We must remain calm and composed. They must know that at every juncture the government, its ministries, and our army are aware of their tasks and the people will be told about any measure that we plan to take, either through the media or through our activities. In any case, I appeal to the people of Serb Sarajevo to exercise order, peace and discipline in their behavior. I think that this is important, and is part of our battle in the period ahead, the battle for our people and territory.

We have taken the law on abandoned property off our agenda. We think that it no longer makes sense since the existence and border of the Serb Republic have been determined and, by implication, its property, and a group has been tasked to come up with a good law to resolve the main property issues. [end recording]

Buha Discusses Objections to Peace Accord

AU1112121795 Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 6 Dec 95 p 7

[Interview with Aleksa Buha, "foreign minister of the Serb Republic," by Marko Winter; place and date not given: "In Spite of All That, Peace Comes First"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Winter] The Dayton Agreement is considered an important step toward peace in the former Yugoslavia. What do you think of it?

[Buha] If the agreement brings lasting peace to the former Yugoslavia and its former Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, this is an excellent result for everyone. There is no normal human being on either side who would not welcome an end to the suffering caused by the war. But whether we are really going to have peace depends on the behavior of the international community, which, incidentally, has a big share of the "credit" for this war coming about.

The decisive documents of the agreement are not very clear-cut. The document on the military implementation, for instance, is such that the mandate of the multinational troops (in other words: NATO) can be turned from a peace mission to an occupation mission almost without anybody noticing. It is paradoxical to send such a great number of troops to secure peace between parties that have signed a peace agreement.

The constitutional solution for the future union or confederation of Bosnia-Herzegovina has two sides. It is true that the independence of the Serb Republic and the Muslim-Croat federation has been laid down at the level of the common institutions, but one cannot rule out the possibility of manipulations whereby the rights of one side, namely the Serbian side, can be questioned by the other side. And every solution that is not logical and consistent in itself can pave the way for future conflicts.

A third aspect of the Dayton Agreement, the territorial distribution marked on the maps, violates the demand for compactness and the functioning of the territories of the two new states that was laid down in writing at the negotiations, and thus also contains the seeds of new disputes.

Despite these and other shortcomings, for the Serb Republic, the agreement means international recognition as a state and the recognition of its right to self-determination for this part of the Serbian people — after all, it was the non-recognition of this right at the time when Yugoslavia collapsed that led to the war. It is not a full recognition of independence, but it is the degree of recognition that the powerful in this world are prepared to give. And I have already said that peace comes first. Unless the other, the negative side, prevails in the implementation, we could see a comparatively favorable solution for the parts of the union and for the three sovereign nations of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

For us, the agreement means the definitive partition of Bosnia-Herzegovina as a state, and it creates a situation where the Serbs, Croats, and Muslims can start a new chapter in their common history: They can coexist peacefully.

[Winter] The Bosnian-Serb leadership has also announced its reservations about the future status of Sarajevo. What is your reason for doing so?

[Buha] We think it is a scandal that no municipal and national-cultural self-rule is planned for the 180,000 Serbs in Sarajevo. People who killed each other until yesterday are to be put under the same authorities. To be more precise: The Serbs are to be put under the power of the Muslims. But we all know what that means. It is inconceivable that the second-largest Serbian town of the former Yugoslavia — which Sarajevo was — should be wiped out by a mere stroke of the pen. The international community knows that the Muslims' words about a middle-class, multi-ethnic Sarajevo are covering up an intent to defraud; but they want to force this fraud on us. If things stay the way they are, we are heading

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toward a catastrophe; either there will be an exodus of the Serbs, or the agreement will not be implemented. Thinking about this frightens me.

[Winter] You also had objections to the deployment of NATO troops....

[Buha] I have already mentioned our principle doubts about NATO. Our delegation demanded that the troops of states that took part in the bombardment of the Serbs in September must not be stationed on the territory of the Serb Republic. The wounds and memories are so new that it would be immoral and inhuman to "favor" our people with the presence of troops from these very countries. But the powerful in this world can force any solution upon a small nation and even refer to the grand principles of human kindness while they are doing it.

[Winter] Your President Karadzic said that he alone is authorized to sign a peace agreement. Now there are calls for his arrest if he comes to Paris, because he has been charged with war crimes by The Hague. What is your government's position on this?

[Buha] The government of the Serb Republic thinks that President Karadzic and General Mladic have been elected legally, which means they are legitimate representatives of the Serbian people. This people has struggled to survive, and it is only a state of its own that can guarantee this survival on a historic territory that has been characterized by struggle. By making it official, by the international recognition of the Serb Republic in Dayton, the international community also recognized this fact. If anyone of us has to go before the tribunal in The Hague, this would have to be the entire Serbian nation. The people have elected their leaders, who are responsible to them.

The Serb Republic's responsibility for punishing crimes that were committed in the civil war is another thing. But that applies to all parties to the conflict. If we are forced to sign the peace agreement without changing the absolutely negative elements mentioned above, a possibility will be found for President Karadzic or another authorized representative to do it.

[Winter] Germany is preparing to send Bundeswehr troops to participate in the NATO mission. What do the Bosnian Serbs think about this?

[Buha] In my job, I have particularly looked into the German philosophical traditions. And I kept asking myself why a nation that examines everything theoretically is not able to find the appropriate moderation of its economic, cultural, and especially political power, which undoubtedly exist. Germany played a decisive role in the partition of Yugoslavia. Now it hastens to "favor" us with its military presence as quickly as possible. That shows that it lacks the right moderation.

Whenever I meet German officials, I speak out for national and political reconciliation between Serbs and Germans, for normal relations, irrespective of the tragic elements in the history of our relations. But I do not think that the participation of German troops in this NATO action is the right way to achieve the desired normalization.

Zubak Says Accord Not in Croatian Interests

LD1012224695 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 10 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The two-day session of the lower house of the Croat Republic of Herzeg-Bosnia ended today after adopting conclusions on the Dayton peace agreement. HINA's correspondent from Mostar, Pejo Gasparevic, reports. [passage omitted]

[Gasparevic] Attention was mainly drawn during the debate to the shortcomings of the Dayton agreement regarding its territorial solution for Bosnian Posavina. In his lengthy speech, the text of which was distributed to reporters, Kresimir Zubak, the president of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the president of the Presidential Council of the Croat Republic of Herzeg-Bosnia, said that the Dayton agreement did not correspond with the interests of the Croat nation as a whole and in Bosnia-Herzegovina in particular. Zubak warned against a horrifying territorial and social reduction of the Croat areas in Bosnia-Herzegovina. [passage omitted]

EU's Koschnick on Measures To Reunite Mostar

AU1112102295 Munich SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG in German 9-10 Dec 95 p 8

[Interview with Hans Koschnick, EU administrator for Mostar, by Jens Schneider; place and date not given: "The First Step Toward the End of Mostar's Division"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *Before the negotiations in Dayton, Hans Koschnick drew up a divided interim balance sheet: His administration had made good progress in the reconstruction of Mostar, but it had failed in reuniting the divided town — which is the main goal — because the Croat western half blocked the measures. At the same time, the development of the Muslim-Croat federation, which is supposed to be one of the basic pillars of the peace solution for Bosnia, stalled. In order to end the blockade, in Dayton, even before the actual peace agreement, leading politicians of both sides concluded an agreement for the federation and Mostar, which contained a binding schedule for the first time. According*

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to the agreement, Mostar's division was to be ended on 1 December.

[Schneider] What happened on 1 December?

[Koschnick] We have been able to lift the barriers in the minds of many people: Since 1 December women, children, and men over 60 have been permitted to move all over the town. Many people have already seized this opportunity.

[Schneider] Nothing happened for more than a year, and now a decision in Dayton was sufficient. Did neither side try to continue the blockade?

[Koschnick] We tried to make it clear that this is neither a triumph for one side nor a failure for the other. I believe they have accepted that. The Muslim side tried very hard not to provoke the western side, and the western side properly cooperated with the police. The parties know: If Mostar had not worked, the establishment of the federation, and thus the entire peace plan for Bosnia, would have been called into question. Zagreb, too, supported our path emphatically.

[Schneider] What is now going to happen in Mostar?

[Koschnick] On 21 December, the Dayton agreements are to pass the Federation Assembly and, as a result, the amendment to the constitution will come into force, which is to guarantee the people all over Bosnia-Herzegovina, including the Serb part, freedom of movement. If the Assembly agrees, a temporary constitution is to be adopted by the end of December, that is, a statute for Mostar. Then we must set down the election law; elections are to be held by the end of May so that in June a city council and the small district administrations will exist. Then I can hand over business to an elected mayor in July.

[Schneider] You will leave after two years in July 1996 as originally planned?

[Koschnick] Yes. We will try to have an EU office established in Mostar so that the projects can be continued. However, our mandate will be over then, we no longer want to govern.

[Schneider] What might cause the failure of the positive development?

[Koschnick] The important thing is that the federation between the Muslims and Croats continues to develop. There are problems in the mixed cantons, where the groups at the grassroots do not always agree to the common structures. Here, one cannot say it is the Croats or the Muslims. Usually, the stronger one blocks cooperation.

[Schneider] The central problem for all of Bosnia will be the refugees. In Mostar, you have tens of thousands of refugees, for instance from neighboring towns such as Stolac. Are there any attempts at all to make it possible for them to return to their homes?

[Koschnick] There are. In Stolac, 100 houses are currently being vacated for the refugees who are to return; however, some of these houses must be rebuilt. In Bugojno, for instance, there are still problems on the Muslim side. In Mostar, we are now making the first attempts to bring back people from one side to the other. There are Croats who accept the offer to return to their old apartments on the eastern side. And there are also offers that expellees will be accepted back in western Mostar.

[Schneider] But do you believe that the majority of the millions of refugee will have an opportunity to return?

[Koschnick] The Dayton plan envisages the individual right to return. However, I wonder whether someone who was driven out by force while the neighbors stayed will be able to sleep calmly if he returns. Therefore, I assume that people will not return in large numbers. But they have the right to do so; this right can be exchanged — according to the Dayton plan — between expelled Serbs and Croats, for instance, following the pattern: I take your piece of land, you take mine. The right can also be compensated financially, but for that purpose the appropriate coffers must be filled quickly. This is the only prospect for people who are afraid to return home.

[Schneider] Where should the money come from?

[Koschnick] The countries that have taken in refugees are interested in enabling the refugees to return. The Europeans must be interested in filling up the fund.

[Schneider] The second big issue: How should one deal with war criminals?

[Koschnick] Wherever serious crimes were committed, those responsible for them must be put on trial. They should be people from all three ethnic groups, because things happened on all three sides. One must avoid attributing guilt one- sidedly. Certainly, the amount of guilt is different; the Muslims, for instance, are less guilty than the others. But there were also people who did bad things, even according to the Muslims themselves. If there are no trials in The Hague, the peace will not be stable. What happened and who was responsible must be determined. When we talk with traumatized women from all ethnic groups, we feel that they would not be able to understand it if they were told: Let us issue an amnesty, then everything will be quiet.

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[Schneider] How do you see the prospects for peace after Dayton?

[Koschnick] We have the prospects for a lasting ceasefire, which may lead to peace in the future. It will take a very long time to understand that one must not think along the old lines of isolation.

[Schneider] Where do you see the greatest danger to the development?

[Koschnick] I am afraid that Washington underestimates how long the NATO force in Bosnia will be needed. One year may not be sufficient.

Report Examines Mission of Joint Police Force

AU1112110195 Sarajevo DNEVNI AVAZ in Serbo-Croatian 28 Nov 95 p 4

[Unattributed report: "Commander Is Citizen of Bosnia-Herzegovina"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The interior ministers of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia and Turkey signed on Friday in Zagreb the Protocol on the implementation of an agreement regarding a goodwill mission and a joint police force involved in the operation "Return." This operation is supposed to make possible the return of refugees who fled Velika Kladusa, misled by ideas advocated by Fikret Abdic, and who are now accommodated under miserable conditions in the refugee camp of Kuplensko in Croatia.

According to the Protocol, the joint police force taking part in the mission will involve 200 policemen, of whom 100 uniformed police will be provided by the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, while Croatia and Turkey will provide 50 uniformed police each.

These police forces will carry out the part of the mission called "Return" under the supervision of the ambassadors of the three countries. They will also carry out their assignments under the supervision of the mission, that is, the Council of Ambassadors, a body composed of ambassadors designated by each country-signatory of the document (each country designates two ambassadors).

Impartial Mission

Operative consultations and immediate execution of tasks will be organized and carried out under the command of the Chief Command of the joint police force that will be made up of representatives of Interior Ministries of the three countries-signatories (two from the republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, one from Croatia and one from Turkey).

The chief commander of the Chief Command will be a citizen of Bosnia-Herzegovina, and his aids will be citizens of the other two countries. The civilian administration will be composed of local staff and staff provided by the countries-signatories of the Protocol, the number of whom will be determined by the Chief Command, following the proposal of the countries involved.

The joint police force will operate in the territory of Velika Kladusa municipality and neighboring municipalities in Bosnia-Herzegovina until the majority of refugees return there, or six months at the longest after the signing of the Protocol. However, the signatory countries may agree on an extension of the mission's duration.

The police forces will observe the laws of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina in every respect, including the laws of the Federation and of the Una-Sana canton and its municipalities, which also applies to the civilian staff involved in the mission, and they are obliged to restrain from any actions that are opposed to the impartiality and international character of their mission.

Equipment Without Customs Duties

Members of the Turkish and the Bosnia-Herzegovina contingents will be guaranteed free and safe passage through the territory of the Republic of Croatia. The Croatian authorities will secure unobstructed entry into Croatia for members of the Turkish contingent and vehicles required for contact with the Turkish embassy in Zagreb, as well as logistical and other assistance. During their stay in Croatia, members of the Turkish contingent will have diplomatic immunity, while a Turkish officer in charge of connections will be situated at the Turkish embassy in Zagreb.

In addition to the emblems prescribed by the regulations of their respective countries, members of the police force and national contingents will wear the emblems of the mission. Symbols of the mission may be attached to the building of the Chief Command, police stations and vehicles, on which the Council of Ambassadors will issue instructions, following the proposal of the Chief Command. Every policeman will have an identification card bearing the logo of the mission and issued by the Supreme Command, which any member of the mission is required to show upon request to police officers of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The police force in Bosnia-Herzegovina will secure and maintain all necessary communications and equipment, except for manual radio transmitters and those installed in vehicles. The government of Bosnia-Herzegovina recognizes the right of the police forces to import

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equipment, food, and other goods meant solely for official use by the forces without paying customs duties.

According to the Protocol, accommodation and supplies for the civilian personnel and the joint police force will be taken care of by the government of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Entry into the region supervised by the police forces will be approved to other people by the Chief Command.

Members of the police forces will wear uniforms of their respective states, small arms for personal use, light weapons, and standard police equipment. One of the tasks of the Chief Command is to take necessary measures to secure observation of discipline and order by the police forces. Police will carry out their assignments in patrols made up of at least one Croatian policeman and one Turkish policeman, and a sufficient number of policemen from Bosnia- Herzegovina.

The police forces will cooperate with the authorities of Bosnia-Herzegovina in all cases of investigation of criminal deeds, in the search for witnesses, and the collection of evidence, and in such activities the Turkish and the Croatian police will be present as observers.

According to the signed Protocol, the Chief Command will immediately submit reports to the Council of Ambassadors on every single criminal deed or violation of human rights and freedoms, and once a month it will submit a report on the implementation of the Protocol.

[Box, p 4]

According to the Protocol signed in Zagreb, within the operative zone of police forces there will be no operative actions taken by military units or members of the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina. This clause in the protocol does not apply to the supervision of the state border, and to the state police and the federal police.

[Box, p 4]

The Protocol signed by the interior ministers of the three countries anticipates that weapons and coercive methods may be used only by members of the Interior Ministry of Bosnia-Herzegovina, in agreement with relevant regulations. Members of the Croatian and the Turkish contingents may use weapons and coercive measures only in case of need or in self-defense.

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Tudjman Receives U.S. Delegation; Praises Role

LD1012215295 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 10 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] In the presidential palace, President of the Republic Franjo Tudjman today received a delegation of Republican and Democratic members of the U.S. Congress. They were accompanied by U.S. Ambassador to Croatia Peter Galbraith. The delegation's visit to Zagreb is part of preparations for a vote in the U.S. Congress on the deployment and role of the U.S. forces in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

At the start President Tudjman said that close bilateral relations between the Republic of Croatia and the United States were of great importance not just because of the role of the United States as a leading world democracy and superpower but also because of 2,000,000 Americans of Croatian origin. President Tudjman welcomed the U.S. president's decision to send NATO troops and went on to say that if it had not been for the leading role of the United States, it would have been impossible to resolve the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina, so deep and caused by so many contradictions.

Members of the U.S. Congress, Ron Packard and Maurice Hinchley, congratulated the president of the Republic on his wise political leadership and vision in Croatia's struggle for independence, during the hard times of aggression by the proponents of greater Serbia and in the peace process.

The U.S. Congress delegation was also interested to learn about the historical causes of the war in former Yugoslavia. In this context, the president drew attention to historical, religious, and cultural differences which had clashed in the region since ancient times, starting with the division of the Roman empire, to be followed by the separation of the churches, right up to the Ottoman invasion and the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. These historical circumstances are at the bottom of the failure to preserve a common state whose violent disintegration was caused primarily by the imperialist ideology of the proponents of Greater Serbia.

In the course of the meeting, the two sides discussed the issues concerning the implementation of the Dayton peace agreement, the reconstruction of the areas in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina devastated by war, respect for human, ethnic, and civil rights, the newly created strategic balance in the region, and the implementation of the Croat-Muslim Federation. The U.S. delegation reiterated its concern for the security of the U.S. forces in Bosnia-Herzegovina. In response the president of the Republic said that although there was a possibility of isolated terrorist attacks, it was in the interest of all sides to maintain peace and that the strategic balance resulting from the successful operations by the Croatian military and police in the Republic of Croatia and the joint operations by the HVO [Croat Defense Council] and the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina had prevented any more serious opposition to the peace agreement.

The issue was also raised of the need to arm the forces of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation. President Tudjman said that he believed that an overall military balance was a guarantee of lasting peace in the region. Asked by the U.S. delegation about the need for additional help by the United States in the efforts to bring about lasting peace in the region, the president of the Republic stressed the importance of the U.S. involvement in the economic reconstruction of the war-devastated areas and in building stable democratic institutions especially in the light of the need for the peaceful reintegration of Eastern Slavonia, Baranja, and Western Srijem.

In addition to the president of the Republic, the talks were also attended by Dr. Ivo Sanader, head of the president's office; Dr. Miomir Zuzul, ambassador and the special envoy of the president of the Republic; Vesna Skare-Ozbolt, deputy head of the president's office; and Major General Kresimir Kaspar, the president's aide.

EU Council Delegation Visits Croatia, Krajina

BR0812154195 Madrid EFE in Spanish 2005 GMT 7 Dec 95

[Unattributed report: "Delegation From Council of Europe's Parliamentary Assembly in Croatia"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Zagreb, 7 Dec (EFE)—Today (Thursday) a delegation of rapporteurs from the Council of Europe's Parliamentary Assembly began a four-day visit to Croatia, a country which, since its independence in 1991, has sought membership in this organization.

The Parliamentary Assembly rapporteurs from the Council for legal questions and human rights, Gunar Janson; from the council for political questions, Pierre Rene van der Linden; and from the council of relations with nonmember European countries, the Duke of Dundee, met today in Zagreb with Ivan Zvonimir Chichak [name and function as published], chairman of the Croatian Helsinki Committee for human rights.

The delegation will meet with Croatian President Franjo Tudjman, representatives of the Croatian parliament and government, members of the diplomatic corps, representatives of minorities, and pro-human rights organizations, the Croatian agency HINA reported.

On Saturday and Sunday [9-10 December], the delegation will visit the territories of the former Serbian "Republic" of Krajina, which was reconquered in August

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by the Croatian forces, and the Velika Kladusa Bosnian Muslim refugee camp in Kuplensko (Vojnic).

Due to serious human rights violations suffered by Serbs who stayed in the former "Krajina" after the Croatian offensive, including the destruction of tens of thousands of abandoned houses and the killing of more than 100 elderly people, Croatia was not admitted to the European Parliamentary Assembly in September.

Court Frees Bosnian Croat Commander Rajic

AU0812195695 Paris AFP in English 1848 GMT 8 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, Dec 8 (AFP)—A Bosnian Croat commander indicted for war crimes was freed this week after a Bosnian Croat court ruled there was insufficient evidence to try him for the murders of five soldiers his lawyer said Friday [8 December].

Croat negotiators at the Dayton, Ohio talks which led to the Bosnia peace accord had said Ivica Rajic would be kept behind bars as The International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia pursues its work.

Rajic, who led Bosnian Croat forces in Kiseljak, in central Bosnia when Croats and Moslems did battle, is alleged to have led a November 23, 1993, attack on a Moslem village, Stupni Do, where all civilians were massacred.

The international tribunal has already indicted Rajic for war crimes and crimes against civilians.

But his lawyer, Josip Muselimovic, reached by telephone in Mostar, told AFP his client had been acquitted by the appeals court in Mostar on December 5 because "the charges against him lacked sufficient evidence."

He had been indicted together with two other officers for the summary execution of five Bosnian Serb soldiers.

Muselimovic said the court's main judge, Davor Silic, handed down an acquittal on Tuesday—a development that shocked a human rights activist.

"Such a verdict encourages war criminals," said Zarko Puhovski, a member of the Croatian branch of the Helsinki committee for human rights.

He added: "The real obstacle to the international tribunal's work is Article nine of the Croatian Constitution, which forbids the extradition of its citizens."

War crimes tribunal spokesman Christian Chartier was quoted by THE NEW YORK TIMES Friday as saying Rajic's release was a "clear breach" of the Bosnian peace agreement initialled near Dayton, Ohio, on November 21.

U.S. officials in Washington said they planned to deliver a strong protest over the release.

U.S. officials said that during three-week, U.S.-brokered negotiations that led to the Dayton peace accords, Bosnian-Croat Federation leader Kresmir Zubak promised to turn Rajic over to the war crimes tribunal even if he were acquitted of the Serbs' deaths.

However, on his return to Bosnia, Zubak said his Croat province would not recognize the tribunal's arrest warrant against Rajic.

Besides Rajic, six other Bosnian Croats have been cited by the international tribunal, including Dario Kordic and Tihomir Blaskic for crimes against humanity.

Blaskic was recently named inspector general of the Croatian military by President Franjo Tudjman.

Tudjman had promised Richard Goldstone, prosecutor of the tribunal based in The Hague, when he visited Zagreb last week that Croatia would cooperate with the Hague-based court.

Protest Meetings Against Dayton Agreement Continue

LD1012145595 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1404 GMT 10 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Zagreb, 10 Dec (TANJUG)—Protest meetings organized by the largest opposition parties to express dissatisfaction with solutions contained in the Dayton agreement continued in Croatia today, ahead of tomorrow's assembly session.

After Zagreb, Split, Dubrovnik, and other places in Croatia, a protest meeting has been organized in the center of Rijeka today. The motto of the meeting is "For Prevlaka—for Vukovar—for Posavina." [passage omitted]

Poll Shows 'Majority' Supports Dayton Agreement

AU0712125895 Zagreb HRVATSKI OBZOR in Serbo-Croatian 4 Dec 95 p 7

[Unattributed report: "Support From the Majority"]

[FBIS Translated Text] In the telephone opinion poll conducted by OBZOR on 27 and 28 November, we posed several questions regarding the Dayton Agreement on Bosnia-Herzegovina to the 450 respondents from all Croatian counties. The majority of the respondents (71.8 percent) support the Dayton Agreement, while just over one fifth of them oppose it. Fifty-two percent of respondents see the Dayton Agreement as a success of the Croatian policy, while 28.9 percent see

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the agreement as a failure. Answers to the question on whether the Dayton Agreement meant the final end of the war in Bosnia- Herzegovina are interesting (but not unexpected). Only 23.3 percent of the respondents answered the question affirmatively, while 57.3 percent do not believe that the final peace has been achieved.

We also asked the respondents whether, in their view, the Croat refugees will return to the Bosnian Posavina. Of those polled, 32.7 percent expect the Croat refugees to return to Posavina, while almost half think that they will not return to their homes.

What do you think about the Dayton agreement for Bosnia-Herzegovina?

	Percent
I support it	71.8
I do not support it	20.4
Do not know	7.8

Is the Dayton agreement a success or failure of Croatian policy?

	Percent
Success	52
Failure	28.9
Do not know	19.1

Does the Dayton agreement mean the final end of the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina?

	Percent
Yes	23.3
No	57.3
Do not know	19.4

Do you think the Croat refugees will return to the Bosnian Posavina?

	Percent
Yes	32.7
No	47.5
Do not know	19.8

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Politicians on Postponement of NATO Expansion

WS0812150595 Warsaw TRYBUNA in Polish 8 Dec 95 pp 1, 6

[Report by "AW, RH": "1997—It Is No Surprise"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] *On Wednesday, heads of the diplomatic services of the "16 states"—members of NATO—postponed by over a year not-clearly specified decisions regarding the expansion of NATO. TRYBUNA asked Professor Adam Bromke, Jerzy Szmajdzinski, Leszek Moczulski, Piotr Nowina-Konopka, and Andrzej Karkoszka to comment.* [passage omitted]

Deputy Jerzy Szmajdzinski, Democratic Left Alliance: We had known for some time what the procedure would be like. First the organization was to prepare a study on NATO expansion, and it was, in fact, prepared in line with the schedule. We knew that the next step would entail bilateral consultations between Poland and NATO. These consultations have already begun, and they are going to be pretty intensive. We knew that in December 1996 these consultations would be summed up and that a NATO expansion calendar would be presented. Thus, the year 1997 will indeed mark the beginning of the NATO expansion procedure. This is not a surprise. And it cannot come as a surprise to anyone in Poland who is familiar with these issues.

To Poland this must mean that the study on NATO expansion, which includes expectations from countries that are applying for membership in the alliance, must be filled with concrete content. This includes well-known issues, such as the principle of publicly announced budget planning and strengthening civilian and democratic control over the Armed Forces. It also includes the formation of modern units that would be able to act jointly with NATO's military structures. This must mean to us fulfillment of our role in Bosnia and continuation of peacekeeping missions. [passage omitted]

Andrzej Karkoszka, deputy minister of national defense: I believe that the communique we received from Brussels is, overall, favorable to us. It is obvious that we would all like the process of integration with NATO to be more intensive in the political sense; we would like this process to yield concrete results now. However, one cannot ignore certain political considerations, which will have to be taken into account in the next year; as a result of them, the partners in this dialogue and in the entire process are rather cautious. Thus, they are trying not to aggravate the difficulties that may arise during this process and that may be caused by hasty decisions or decisions that are strongly objected to by some neighboring states.

The fact that this stage will be called the second stage not some future stage, indicates that there is a certain plan and that there cannot be too many stages. I believe that we all expected that 1996 would be the year of hard work on specific integration-oriented, technical, and military measures. In fact, no one is halting this work. This work will make it possible to reach political decisions at the end of next year, decisions that we are waiting for.

Supreme Court Rules Presidential Election Valid

LD0912173395 Warsaw TV Polonia Network in Polish 1703 GMT 9 Dec 95

[Supreme Court resolution read by Jan Wasilewski, chairman of the Administrative Chamber of the Supreme Court—live]

[FBIS Translated Text] A resolution will be read out, a resolution of the Supreme Court, dated 9 December 1995, on the validity of the election of the president of the Polish Republic carried out on 19 November 1995.

The Supreme Court, comprising the entirety of the Administrative, Labor, and Social Insurance Chamber, and with the participation of Stefan Sniezko, deputy prosecutor general of the Polish Republic, and Wojciech Laczkowski, chairman of the State Electoral Commission, at an open meeting held on 9 December 1995, considered the case of the validity of the election of the president of the Polish Republic.

Upon the basis of the report of the State Electoral Commission on the elections for the president of the Polish Republic carried out on 5 November 1995 and on 19 November 1995, and also of the decisions issued by the Supreme Court in consequence of its consideration of the protests against the election of the president, and also after hearing resolutions from the deputy prosecutor general of the Polish Republic and from the chairman of the State Electoral Commission, the Supreme Court, acting on the basis of Article 76, Section 1 of the law dated 27 September 1990 on the election of the president of the Polish Republic, Journal of Laws Number 67, Item 398, Number 79, Item 465, and also that of 1993, Number 45, Item 205, and that of 1995, Number 95, Item 472, has adopted the following resolution:

The election of the president of the Polish Republic carried out on 19 November 1995 is valid.

Justification of Ruling

LD0912190095 Warsaw TVP Television First Program Network in Polish 1705 GMT 9 Dec 95

[Justification of Polish Supreme Court resolution, read by Jan Wasilewski, chairman of the Supreme Court Ad-

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ministrative Chamber; relayed by Warsaw TV Polonia Network in Polish—live]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted] The Supreme Court, sitting as the entire chamber, declares: In none of the decisions of the ruling benches of the Supreme Court, in cases of electoral protests, was there acknowledged a significant and verifiable influence of confirmed transgressions of the electoral law on the result of the elections. Despite differences in the interpretation of this relationship, none of the ruling benches of the Supreme Court acknowledged that the demonstrated transgressions of the electoral law changed or even at the least could have changed in decisive degree the mutual proportions of the numbers of votes cast for the two candidates for the office of president of the Polish Republic. The influence of these transgressions was understood as indirect proof of certain, potential preferences in undertaking electoral decisions in the second round of voting, nonetheless without any possibility of confirming its actual influence upon the absolute measure as also upon the mutual configuration of the numbers given in Point 3 of the declaration by the State Electoral Commission [PKW] dated 20 November 1995.

In the Supreme Court's view, only a credible, documented, and verifiable influence of transgressions of the law upon the result of the elections gives a basis for their invalidation. The results of the proceedings that have taken place before the Supreme Court within the bounds specified in Chapter 10 of the Law on the Election of the President do not, however, give a basis for such a conclusion. [chanting of crowd outside the court can be heard throughout much of the justification of the ruling—at this point it is clearly discernible as: Commies out! Commies out! Wasilewski is flustered as this point and at a number of other moments]

Other accusations contained in a certain part of the electoral protests also do not constitute a justified basis for the invalidation of the election of the president.

The accusation of the nonaccordance of the Law on the Election of the President with the Constitution could be justifiable, if we compare the universal right guaranteed to the generality of citizens consequent upon Article 95 of the Constitution with the limitations consequent upon Article 70, Section 1, Point 2 of the Law on the Election of the President. Nonetheless, the confirmation of the invalidity of the law on account of its contradiction with the Constitution exceeds the competence of the Supreme Court.

The basis for electoral protests and thus this resolution can solely be accusations of the transgression of the electoral law of such content and to such a degree wherein it constitutes a part of the system of laws of the Polish Republic. [passage omitted]

Taking into account the entirety of the circumstances consequent upon the documents specified in Article 76 of the Law on the Election of the President, and also carrying through an evaluation of the content of the decisions issued during the consideration of particular electoral protests by the ruling benches of the Supreme Court, taking into account the entire material proof gathered in these cases, the Supreme Court, sitting as the entire Administrative, Labor, and Social Insurance Chamber, confirms the validity of the election of Aleksander Kwasniewski as president of the Polish Republic in accordance with the content of Point 3 of the declaration of the State Electoral Commission dated 20 November 1995, on the results of the voting and the results of the elections for the president of the Polish Republic in the second round of the vote carried out on 19 November 1995.

The Supreme Court stresses that this resolution is only a confirmation of the lack of legal bases for the questioning of the validity of the elections. Thus, evaluation of the personal character and moral attributes of the person elected to the post of president of the Polish Republic, which was raised in electoral protests, remains outside the competence of the Supreme Court.

Under both the ruling and the justification of the ruling we find the signatures of all of the judges here present. I wish to report, at the wish of the judges, that the resolution was not unanimous. Judges (Jerzy Kuzniar), (Jerzy Kwasniewski), (Maria Mankowska), (Teresa Romer), and (Maria Tyszel), in signing the conclusion of the resolution, added the words: Of a different view.

That is all in this case, ladies and gentlemen. The resolution is not subject to further proceedings. There is no possible method of appeal. In accordance with the law, it will be immediately passed to the Sejm speaker. I close the meeting of the Supreme Court, sitting as the entire Administrative, Labor, and Social Insurance Chamber. Thank you very much.

Background of Case

LD0912135295 Warsaw Polskie Radio First Program Network in Polish 1105 GMT 9 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The Administrative Chamber of the Supreme Court is examining the case of the validity or invalidity of the presidential elections. The chamber will issue its verdict, after a closed session, at 1700. The decision on the election result will be final.

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During the first part of the proceedings of the Supreme Court's Administrative Chamber of Labor and Social Insurance, which met in its full complement, Judge Teresa Romer, the rapporteur, said that all benches of judges found unanimously that President-elect Aleksander Kwasniewski was not a graduate of Gdansk University and had no higher education qualifications.

The benches of judges differ in their assessment of whether the publication of untrue information about the candidate's education could have influenced the presidential election result. In her report, Judge Teresa Romer presented the court's work on this issue:

[Begin Romer recording] The Supreme Court requested Mr. Aleksander Kwasniewski personally to provide clarification concerning his education and all the documents he had. There was no answer to this letter. [passage omitted]

As far as the documents sent to us by Gdansk University from its student files are concerned, it has already been announced that they were incomplete, but they did not contain any evidence to indicate that Mr. Aleksander Kwasniewski graduated from this university and obtained a master's degree. [passage omitted]

I stress that we unanimously made the decision that the president-elect does not have higher education qualifications. In its rulings, the Supreme Court accepted that there was a violation of Article 43, in connection with Article 41, of the [Presidential Election] Act that provides that the electoral list, as prepared and published, must contain true information about candidates for president of the Polish Republic.

Ladies and gentlemen, bearing in mind our unanimous stand, differences were however visible in our assessment of the influence of that violation on the election result.

The Supreme Court made use of, among other things, research done by public opinion centers, opinions of the Philosophy and Sociology Institutes of the Polish Academy of Sciences, and opinions provided by the Sociology Institute of Warsaw University. All of this was done with the aim of obtaining data that would enable us to establish if and to what extent this untrue information published on the State Electoral Commission poster could have influenced the voters' preferences while casting their ballots. [end recording]

The court rejected the charge about false testimony in a statement on the candidate's assets because it did not apply to the Presidential Election Act.

Walesa: Kwasniewski To Go Before State Tribunal

LD1012175595 Warsaw Radio Zet Network in Polish 1700 GMT 10 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] After winning the parliamentary elections in two years' time, we'll put Kwasniewski before the State Tribunal, Lech Walesa announced today in front of the basilica in Nowa Huta. One can do a lot for Poland from everywhere, not only as president, Walesa added. He also indicated the need to cement the right-hand side of the political stage. Mazowiecki and Olszewski tried this before; I'm going to try, too, the outgoing president said at a meeting with clergy. He explained that this task was to be carried out by the institute he had set up. Walesa also said that he would try to get the Right to put forward one joint electoral list in the [1997] parliamentary elections.

Walesa Announces Post-Solidarity Grouping

LD1012180295 Warsaw TV Polonia Network in Polish 1600 GMT 10 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] President Lech Walesa has announced in Krakow that he will begin to create a post-Solidarity grouping next week. It is to win the [1997] parliamentary elections and pass the most important legislation for the country in the Sejm.

[Unidentified correspondent] Lech Walesa said that he himself would not be running for parliament or the Senate, because young people would be standing as candidates. The bills will be drawn up by the Lech Walesa Institute, which is being set up. The main issues are the constitution, the property enfranchisement of the nation, tidying up the administration, and strengthening local self-government. The president declared that there would be room for Jan Olszewski and the Freedom Union [UW] in the post-Solidarity camp. He made clear, however, that it would not be he who would join UW. Olszewski likes to sleep a lot and worked only two or three hours a day, Walesa said, adding that, in a period of reform, the prime minister should work 18 hours a day.

Poll Shows Continued Support for SLD

WS0812150695 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 4 Dec 95 pp 1, 5

[Report by Renata Wrobel: "PBS for RZECZPOSPOLITA: Who Would Win the Parliamentary Elections; SLD First, Solidarity Second"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] *If new parliamentary elections had been held a week after the first round of the presidential elections—that is, the last weekend of November—the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD] would*

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have continued to be the strongest group in the Sejm; however, the second-largest group would have been the Independent Self-Governing Trade Union Solidarity [NSZZ "S"], which does not have its own representatives in the Sejm right now. These are the results of an opinion poll conducted for RZECZPOSPOLITA by the Social Research Laboratory.

The 5-percent requirement envisioned by the Election Law would have been met by five groups: SLD, "S," Freedom Union [UW], Polish Peasant Party [PSL], and the Union of Labor [UP]. Several other parties are drawing increasingly closer to the 5-percent threshold. In the November poll, the Non-Party Bloc in Support of Reforms, the Christian-National Union, the Union for Real Politics, and the Movement for the Republic garnered between 3 and 4 percent of the votes, whereas the Confederation for an Independent Poland obtained only 2 percent. Support for the remaining parties did not exceed 1 percent.

Election Preferences in Parliamentary Elections (Support for Strongest Groups)

	Nov 95	Oct 95	Sep 95
	Percent		
SLD	33	27	27
NSZZ "S"	19	19	13
UW	12	12	14
PSL	7	7	9
UP	6	9	12

SLD Liked Kwasniewski in First Round

This latest opinion poll showed an increase in support for the SLD—by 6 percent. We can see an evident similarity between the number of voters willing to support the SLD and the basic electorate of Aleksander Kwasniewski. When Kwasniewski received over 20 percent of the votes in opinion polls, the SLD was backed by a similar number of respondents. The most recent result achieved by the SLD (it was supported by one in three respondents) is very similar to the result achieved by Kwasniewski in the first round of the presidential elections. [passage omitted]

Unions Are Not Gaining Anything

Neither UW nor UP reaped the same benefits from the election campaign as did the SLD and "S." UW did not gain anything, whereas UP evidently lost. [passage omitted]

The Weaker Partner in the Coalition

The result of the poll confirms the difficulties the PSL is going through at the moment. The 7 percent of support that it gained in October and November is the worst result achieved by the party since the last parliamentary elections. [passage omitted]

Walesa's Political Future Viewed

WS0812142095 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 6 Dec 95 pp 4-5

[Article by Piotr Adamowicz and Kazimierz Groblewski: "Who Will Walesa Become—An Opposition Leader, a Historical Exhibit, or Someone in the Middle?"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] *An electrician contributes to the creation of the first free trade union in the Eastern bloc. What can he become later? He may become the leader of this union. While standing at its helm, he receives the Nobel Prize and participates in changing a political system in the country, thus destroying totalitarianism in Central Europe. What can he become later? He can become the Polish president. After five years, he loses a contest for the next term. What can he become later? An electrician again? This answer is definitely incorrect.*

At present, the correct answer to this question is: There is no answer yet. Perhaps no one today, including Lech Walesa himself, knows who the present president will be in a month, six months, a year, three years, or five years.

What If They Nullify?

In several days, the Supreme Court will make a final decision as to the validity of the presidential elections. Initially, the president did not consider the possibility of their nullification. Recently, however, impressed by the scope of the protest actions and arguments of some lawyers, he has become convinced that a court verdict may be different, a close aide of the president says. A nullification of the elections will mean the need to repeat them. Some presidential officials think Walesa is ready to run, while others contend that he remains undecided—even though he himself said after the first

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round that his failure to win 60-percent support means his debacle.

Still others believe that he should not decide to stand for reelection. Unfortunately, he sustained a defeat on 19 November. A decision to run again could be regarded by a part of society as an effort to stay in power at any cost. Besides, knowing the results of various opinion polls, one should consider the possibility of another defeat. Telling an untruth about his education, Aleksander Kwasniewski discredited himself. But not as much as to have his position completely shattered.

This is why, in case the elections are annulled, a desirable outcome would be Walesa's coming to terms with post-Solidarity parties. The moral winner of the 19 November election calls upon everyone to vote for a person selected by him, actively participating in the campaign himself. Ensuring success, he moves to the sidelines, remaining "father of the nation."

Observers, however, describe this outcome as "desirable" rather than "realistic." No one knows whom Walesa is supposed to anoint. Some people point to Andrzej Olechowski and Andrzej Zoll.

Accepting the Defeat

Judging by his postelection statements, Lech Walesa still thinks about the election outcome in terms of an "undeserved slap in the face" from voters. This kind of approach to his defeat may testify to his tendency to feel offended by society, thus the fact that he has not yet come to terms with his defeat. It may also mean that he does not understand, or does not want to understand, the political processes that have occurred during his presidency. Living for five years in isolation from ordinary people, he lost his ability to take a realistic look at the present reality. In the past, he was used to frequent contact with people, which allowed him to make realistic judgments about people's sentiments.

As long as Walesa still resides in the [presidential] palace, continues to receive politicians, and the Supreme Court has not yet given its verdict on the validity of the elections, accepting his downfall will remain an uneasy task. When a truck with the word "moving" written on its back drives to the palace, when he has to close its doors for the last time, and when his favorite soldiers from the Wisla Military Units also for the last time click their heels and snap to attention, there will be no sense in trying to escape the bitter truth.

Lech Walesa will definitely not drop out of political life. But he will probably stay in the background for some time—less active and more defensive. It is possible that he is experiencing stress right now, even though he does not show it. Also, he may have retreated into himself. It is not clear what will happen to him because no one can predict what Lech Walesa will be like after he reconciles himself to the fact that he has lost the presidential elections. On the Jasna Mountain [Monastery], he uttered sad words that 25 years of the struggle had come to naught.

It is also possible that it was a defensive reaction helping him withdraw, engage in something else, and hope that some new wave of protest will once again propel him to power.

It Is Important Who He Becomes

One of the likely immediate scenarios is that Lech Walesa will divide his time between his house on Polanki Street in Gdansk and his office in Warsaw. Suppose an enterprise—the Gdansk shipyard, for example—goes on strike. Walesa then may go to the striking workers, or he may stay home. More important, Walesa could go there to calm down passions, trying to end the strike; on the contrary, he could morally support the workers and encourage them to hang on.

Another possible scenario: He is a guest of honor at a seminar held in Brussels titled "Should Europe Fear Success of the Postcommunist Left in Central and East European Countries?" Happy that he had an opportunity to meet Lech Walesa, a high-ranking NATO official strikes up a private conversation with him. The official asks privately: There are favorable circumstances. We could hasten things. Do you think we should hurry or wait until after the next elections?

It will be of great significance how Lech Walesa would act in this and many other situations. This would be important not so much for him as for the striking workers, the enterprise leadership, the government, possibly for the new president, and definitely for Poland.

What he tells the striking workers and the NATO official would depend on the role he plays in Polish public life. Will he find a place for himself in democratic structures and actions—the electoral ones, for example? Or maybe politicians will try to forget about him. Or he will voluntarily retreat from political life, turning into an interesting target for historians and political scientists.

Let us see whether one can draw any parallels to behavioral models of former presidents.

Examples From Abroad

[Passage omitted] So, what are the fundamental differences between the situation of Walesa and that of former French and U.S.presidents? First, Walesa has no serious political infrastructure. Second, unlike U.S. former presidents, he will not receive a pension for life. Third, a

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precondition for Walesa to carry out foreign missions is his ability to rise above profound internal divisions. In the well-established American democracy, it is possible to imagine a former prominent conservative politician cooperating with a Democratic administration (or vice versa). In Poland, this would be an unlikely prospect.

There is another important conclusion that can be drawn from the history of German, French, and U.S. presidencies. In the past decades of the 20th century, there was no spectacular reelection that came about after several years of hiatus.

Senator for Life

Meanwhile, representatives of the Freedom Union persuade other factions in the Sejm to change the small constitution so that every outgoing president could become a senator for life. People resigning this post should not fall into political limbo, and they should receive an official status. This solution comes from Western democracies—Italy, for example—Deputy Henryk Wujec explains. The idea was endorsed by the KPN [Confederation for Independent Poland], and it reportedly received initial support from UP [Labor Union].

No major reactions to this proposal have so far been expressed by the SLD [Democratic Left Alliance] and the PSL [Polish Peasants Party], whose support is crucial for changing the constitution. Except for a statement by [SLD's] Marek Borowski, who said in an interview to Radio Zet that the SLD was ready to consider this proposal on the condition that Walesa officially declare that he will stop his attacks against the ruling coalition. GLOS WYBRZEZA published statements by the coalition deputies. Jolanta Banach from the SLD fears that UW's initiative is the first step in granting a life senator some special prerogatives. This could result in undemocratic pressure on the Polish political arena, and it would be a dangerous thing. For Slawomir Szatkowski from the PSL, the Senate should remain an elected body. Walesa has shown that he is unwilling to cooperate with politicians from the public ticket. Creating such a post for him would only lead to political destruction. Besides, the first president of the Third Polish Republic was Wojciech Jaruzelski, and if Walesa were to become a life senator, so should Jaruzelski. GLOS WYBRZEZA complemented the opinion poll with its editorial: The most famous individual in history who faced the prospect of staying in power for life was the horse of [Roman Emperor] Caligula. The emperor demanded the position of life consul for his Insignatus. The animal almost received that position, but it was too reluctant to leave the trough and disliked the company of high officials, whom it bit and kicked.

Also, the person in question himself never issued any declarations on this issue. Although General Jaruzelski was not elected by popular vote, it is very likely that, if the leftists accept the life senator proposal, they would do their best to bestow him with that post as well. This is the reason Lech Walesa may not like the idea. Besides, he would be better off with remaining completely independent.

As we can see, what the UW proposal has revealed so far is negligence of lawmakers in the past and the need for a debate to resolve the problem.

I Promise To Be Active

Since his electoral defeat, Walesa has rarely appeared in public. He always promises to be politically active and that he will not abandon people who engaged in his campaign. On 20 November, he visited his election headquarters to read a declaration. "Let us not go home. Let us not give up on our goals. Let us not weaken our strength." He appealed for his election committees to refrain from disbanding and start working for victory in legislative elections. He said that he would work to forge a bloc that will win the elections. He, however, will not run for a parliamentary seat, standing instead in the background and supporting efforts to create a single election ticket.

At that meeting, he also said he will be touring regions where he lost and convincing people that they made a mistake. He will help put together white books [listing wrongdoings of ranking officials] and lay bare "cobwebs" [of *nomenklatura* business circles]. "From now on, I will travel by bus just as Kwasniewski did, and he will have troubles from my trips," he said. He also said that he had received an undeserved slap from the people. Now, in keeping with the Old Testament, he will pay back "so their jaws will fall off." He hinted that he would wait for an explosion of discontent, tried to guess when it might happen, and expressed hope that it might be as early as this spring. Walesa went to Gdansk to have some rest for the first week after the elections. Surprised by the scale of the drive to annul the elections, he declined public comment and interviews.

Only on 26 November did he participate in the pilgrimage to the Jasna Gora monastery. At the meeting with miners, Walesa said: I am not sunk in sorrow and bitterness. I am staying with you, and I have not quit the fight. He said there were manipulations during the elections, evidenced by the large number of protests.

Three Scenarios and the Institute

In the opinion of Minister Andrzej Zakrzewski, the president can become an initiator of a broad bloc, associa-

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tion, or union—the name is not so important—that will unite most of the postsolidarity parties, including the Solidarity Trade Union, and produce a single electoral ticket. The bloc wins and forms a government counterbalancing postcommunists. Thus, Lech Walesa becomes "father of the nation," who once overturned communism and, despite the lost presidential elections, managed to achieve a balance of forces.

In a less upbeat scenario, parties and forces that supported Walesa in the recent elections would create a political base.

The third option is that the president withdraw to his private house on Polanki Street to wait and see how the political situation in the country develops.

Zakrzewski declined to say which of the three scenarios was most probable. The first one is, of course, the most desirable.

For the time being, it is important that Walesa accept an idea of setting up his own foundation that would assist in establishing an institute.

The founding partners would include the president's closest aides. We are not original here. An example of such an initiative can be the organization set up by Ronald Reagan, Zakrzewski says. Everything would be based in Warsaw.

In theory, the institute would be a nonpartisan institution. It would request studies and opinion polls and would document Walesa's activities. It is very likely that the institute's staff would include Wladyslaw Bartoszewski, Andrzej Milczanowski, and Zbigniew Okonski [foreign, interior, and defense ministers, respectively, who filed for resignation after Walesa's electoral defeat].

The projects would cover four basic problems: the development of democracy and security, Poland's place in Europe, modern Polish history, and development of local self-government.

To secure an independent and distinct position on the political scene, Lech Walesa needs to have a solid and reliable base consisting of professionals and officials. On the other hand, observers wonder whether he can do it if he could not forge such a base during the five years of his presidency. Declarations by Zakrzewski, Marek Karpinski, Andrzej Ananicz, and Andrzej Kojder show that he can still count on them.

Who Will Be in the Third Round?

We have dispersed throughout the field without the ball, sometimes fouling each other. It is about time we ran together again. It will not be the same team because there a many things that divide us. But because there are things that unite us, we must be one team again, the president said in Gdansk several months ago.

Between the first and second rounds, he stressed that the prime objective is the third round—the legislative elections in two years. On 19 November, he reiterated his appeal for unity of the opposition parties. We will win if we manage to come up with a single ticket, he gave assurances during election night in the Presidential Palace, unofficially admitting that such a bloc could garner at least 35-percent support in the elections.

A special speech was prepared for that night. With that speech, Walesa was going to send a message to Solidarity parties. He was going to say that, regardless of the election's outcome, everyone should jointly take advantage of the electorate that supported him. Unfortunately, invitations were sent to politicians too late. Those who showed up included Solidarity activists, with Marian Krzaklewski [Solidarity Trade Union head], [UW's] Bronislaw Geremek, and certainly an impressive group from the Patriotic Camp, which was especially visible in the solemn moments. The planned meeting fell through.

After 19 November, Lech Walesa met with leaders of UW, the KPN, the PChD [Christian-Democratic Party], the BBWR [Non-Party Bloc in Support of Reforms], and the Solidarity National Commission. Lech Walesa should become a midwife at the birth of a single bloc uniting the opposition, [Conservative Party leader] Aleksander Hall said after the election. And he never was one of the president's biggest fans. Everyone talks about the need to unite and cooperate, pointing to Walesa, who can put together the scrambled pieces of the puzzle. They talk, but not in one voice. On the one hand, the Freedom Union, (senior members of which are used to playing leading roles), dreams about spreading its leadership over the entire bloc—even if it is not yet built. It is an open secret that [party leader] Leszek Balcerowicz reacted nervously to the news that post-Solidarity activists in Gdansk, together with local UW members, issued a joint declaration stressing the need for cooperation—something about which Balczerowicz had not been informed beforehand.

Although the Solidarity union does not reject cooperation with UW, its leader declares that agreement is possible, but on condition that parties willing to cooperate with the union will sign a contract with it, committing themselves to, for example, supporting provisions contained in the public draft of the constitution.

The time that elapsed after the elections and the subsiding shock from Kwasniewski's victory did not encourage politicians to reach reconciliation. A referendum on enfranchisement to be held in several months can only

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deepen divisions, particularly if it touches upon religions matters.

This is why, regardless of the Supreme Court's decision, Lech Walesa's waiting is hard to understand. After all, it would be in his interest to openly take a clear and firm stance on accord among the parties, unless, faithful to his own tactics, he is waiting for initial signs of agreement so that he can later come in and act as a mediator and, at the same time, an intermediary playing by his own rules.

Solidarity does not renounce cooperation with UW. However, its leader declares that an agreement may be possible, provided that those parties that want to cooperate with Solidarity sign a contract with the trade union and commit, for instance, to back the tenets of the public draft constitution.

As time and the shock caused by Kwasniewski's victory passes, this does not facilitate accord among politicians. The privatization referendum that is to be held in a couple of months may even aggravate that division, particularly if questions on religion are included.

Therefore, regardless of the Supreme Court's decision, it is hard to understand Lech Walesa's wait-and-see policy in a situation when he could publicly take an explicitly firm stance on the issue of reaching accord among parties, which would also suit his own interests. Or perhaps he is accustomed to his own tactics and is waiting until partial agreements are reached. Then he will appear as a negotiator and, at the same time, a mediator, but putting forward his own terms.

Appropriation of Lech Walesa

Lech Walesa's place in political life will depend on the outcome of various attempts to integrate the post-Solidarity groups.

Competition for appropriating Lech Walesa continues. There is UW and its currently created makeshift camp; there is the so-called right, composed of the ZChN [Christian National Union] and the KPN; there are groups that made up Walesa's election staff, including the BBWR; and, finally, there is Solidarity. UW has reached a parliamentary agreement with UP [Labor Union] and the KPN and is trying to become allies with Artur Balazs's Popular Christian Party, Aleksander Hall's Conservative Party, Andrzej Olechowski's STU Committee, and Zbigniew Religa's republicans.

Lech Walesa's own election staff, primarily the BBWR, holds separate talks with Walesa. The election staffs have been transformed into committees and have begun to establish a "bloc for Poland." This bloc is naturally open for everyone. However, according to Jerzy Gwizdz "time verifies the sincerity of intentions." Gwizdz also adds that, "if someone comes five minutes before midnight, he can leave at five after midnight," alluding to the fact that the ZChN and UW backed Walesa at the very end of the election campaign. Solidarity, the KPN, and the ZChN stand between these two initiatives. Jan Olszewski is trying to integrate the right wing independently, acting alone. He has established the Movement for the Restoration of Poland.

The groups have already started to divide the cake called "Lech Walesa's electorate." This electorate of almost 50 percent excites politicians' imaginations. An opinion begins to prevail to the effect that the creation of a single bloc is an illusion, and even if this were to work out, program differences would produce splits. Therefore, everybody wants to win as big a portion of the electorate as possible. According to estimates, a group with Lech Walesa's "name" may count on more than 10 percent of votes [in parliamentary elections]. The principle "Everyone takes what belongs to him" is beginning to dominate.

Polanki Is Not Sulejowek

Walesa's wait-and-see policy, the politicians' untamed ambitions and squabbles, and false belief that it will always be possible to enjoy support from a 48-percent electorate, may end up in a grim scenario. The former president may be left alone, frustrated by defeat and waiting for a change in the political situation.

For Walesa, this would be the worst possible scenario. Polanki [street in Gdansk where Walesa lives] is not Sulejowek [place of Pilsudski's exile]. Walesa is not Pilsudski, who had loyal officers. When he stays alone in Gdansk, only 10 or so loyal friends will be visiting him. As time passes, journalists will stop asking questions about politics. Instead, they will ask what Walesa thinks about street violence in the neighborhood or about the city services' failure to mend a broken pipe.

The president once said that perhaps a time would come when he would have to lead crowds of protesters to Belweder Palace. In December 1995, this may be another palace, one hosting Kwasniewski. This version, too, seems unrealistic. There have always been strikes and protests, and there will be in the future. However, they will not be transformed into a social rebellion, at least as long as the ruling postcommunist group does not dramatically change its policy. The left has learned a lot within recent years, and therefore, if it thinks about enjoying the plenitude of power, it will change its policy very slowly, yet systematically.

There is an option that is something in between Walesa's "grim" future and his becoming "father of

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the nation." Walesa may gather the BBWR, the KPN, the ZChN, and Solidarity around him. Devoid of broad support, he would make politics based on Solidarity structures and would participate in various church ceremonies from time to time.

In this case, he cannot expect that this kind of coalition would achieve great success in legislative elections. He himself would be an important Polish politician. But would he be among the most important ones?

Clinton's Telephone Call and What Next?

In recent years, Walesa always had a good rating in the international arena. Andrzej Ananicz, who was responsible for international affairs in the presidential administration, points out: "There are few Polish politicians who have criticized Walesa for foreign policy. He had a good sense for appointing Foreign Ministry heads."

In his election campaign, Walesa justifiably, though not always proficiently, underscored that he and not Aleksander Kwasniewski was a more sure guarantor of Poland's admission to European structures. He was also right in saying that the victory of his rival would give weight to arguments used by the opponents of a quick and full integration.

However, Kwasniewski decided to change the situation. He smartly offered that the former president use his international prestige and assist the new president in his attempts to unite Poland with NATO and the EU. By doing so, Kwasniewski put Walesa in an awkward position, given that refusal to cooperate in such an essential field will meet with grave criticism.

Ananicz believes that Walesa will do everything in his power to solidify Poland's international positions. However, how can he help Poland and not overly solidify Kwasniewski's positions at the same time? Ananicz says: "It is important that the victorious camp led by the president-elect make a fundamental declaration regarding foreign policy principles because, until now, that camp has dwelled in the sphere of speculative statements and has led to the creation of two opposing centers, one in the Foreign Ministry and one in the SLD. Only then we can think what to do next."

The presidential adviser believes that Lech Walesa should form a group of supporters that will provide him with analyses of the international situation. Ananicz voices his readiness to cooperate.

After the election results were announced, Bill Clinton placed a telephone call to Walesa and pledged that, despite his defeat, he treats Walesa as a partner. The U.S. President added: "You know my telephone number. I am always ready to talk to you." After that, Clinton called Kwasniewski.

According to Ananicz, there have been more declarations about readiness to maintain personal contacts and cooperate: "We do not publicize that because we do not want to make a competition of offers."

Walesa is regarded as a living symbol that facilitated peaceful revolution and the destruction of the Berlin Wall, the symbol of a divided Europe. He is a politician with a well-established international reputation.

However, it depends on Walesa himself whether he will be able to retain that position. In particular, this would depend on whether he will be regarded as a politician who can have an impact on Poland's internal situation and as an unofficial opposition leader. In the second half of the 1980's, Walesa already acted in that capacity. It is enough to recall Margaret Thatcher's or George Bush's visits or Walesa's triumphant speech before the two chambers of the U.S. Congress in Washington. Time will tell whether two or three years from now there will be an hour set aside for lunch with Walesa in the schedules of visiting foreign officials. Speaking about Walesa's foreign plans, Ananicz only said that, in the spring, the president will take advantage of certain invitations. According to other sources, Walesa will probably visit the United States, and perhaps Canada or Korea. Meanwhile, he has several thousand invitations from all over the world.

What Will Prevail?

Lech Walesa is at a point at which he can very easily embark on the road to comicality. This would be the worst scenario, but, unfortunately, it is possible.

Walesa has several drawbacks that will push him toward comicality, primarily his vanity. Lech Walesa is inclined to boast about his successes and lay claims for all kinds of accomplishments. This trait was irritating when Walesa was president. It will be mostly comical in a defeated president and will repel people from Walesa. His other major drawback is an inclination to slighting politicians. This negative trait was most evidently revealed when he offended his political partners by slinging epithets at them. It was forgiven in the past in light of his post, but a defeated president is no longer "protected" by his post. If Walesa does not get rid of that trait, he will have the same status as those politicians from the fringe of public life who overdose on epithets.

Lech Walesa has valuable positive traits, too: He knows how to forget old hurts or to rise above prejudices. In addition, despite the mediocre impression left by

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his presidency and election campaign, he is a man of compromise, who is ready to sacrifice. If those outstanding traits prevail over the petty ones, Walesa's political future will give no grounds for sympathetic smiles.

The negative Walesa lost and so did the Solidarity ethos and the settling of accounts. At this point, Walesa does not stand a chance of beating Jan Olszewski in anti-communism. He should realize that former apparatchik Kwasniewski won because the majority of people did not want to regard him as an apparatchik. Walesa himself lost because some people did not remember or did not want to remember him as a charismatic national leader. They remembered him as president. He should notice that society is changing. A folk proverb says that it is unpleasant to learn by making mistakes. However, it does not say that it is impossible.

Now, Walesa can be created anew. This would be a different Walesa, who has something to offer, something different from rebukes about the past.

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PSM Rejects Idea of NATO Bases in Country

AU0912200395 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1700 GMT 9 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The National Council of the Socialist Party of Labor (PSM) met today in Bucharest and decided to hold the national conference of the party in February 1996.

The meeting unanimously adopted a declaration of the PSM National Council, whereby the PSM expresses complete disapproval of the engagement voiced by leaders of several parties and by some dignitaries about the possibility of establishing NATO military bases on our country's territory.

In this respect, the PSM considers that any such engagement previously needs a thorough debate in a joint session of the two Parliament chambers, so that the wish of the entire nation could be expressed in this way or even on the basis of a broad consultation of the population through a national referendum.

In another line of ideas, the plenary meeting of the PSM National Council established the strategy and the objectives of the party for the next electoral campaigns.

In this respect, the participants reevaluated the political forces countrywide in view of possible political alliances for the future elections, our correspondent Daniela Ciobanu informed us.

Melescanu on London Visit, Talks With Ukraine

AU1012144395 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 2000 GMT 9 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Romanian State Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs Teodor Melescanu returned tonight from London where he attended the international conference on implementation of the Dayton peace accord and reconstruction in the former Yugoslavia.

The head of the Romanian diplomacy mentioned that the goal of the conference was to discuss issues linked to the establishment of a mechanism referring to the civilian aspects of the Dayton accord implementation. Likewise, the participants discussed cooperation between the forces involved in the reconstruction process and the international organizations which have missions in the matter.

Mr. Melescanu said that, in London, Romania reaffirmed its willingness to contribute to the application of the military understandings through logistics equipment and noncombat forces as well as make a contribution to the economic reconstruction process.

In another line of ideas, referring to the issue of discussions held between the Romanian and the Ukrainian sides regarding Snakes Island [in the Black Sea], Mr. Teodor Melescanu said that today he held talks with his Ukrainian counterpart and the result of these talks was that the sides decided to prepare a meeting at the level of prime ministers of the two countries, a meeting that will discuss apart from economic aspects also aspects that could lead to the acceleration of negotiations aimed at finalizing the bilateral political treaty.

Ministry Ready To Help Germany Catch Lawbreakers

AU0912192395 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1700 GMT 9 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The delegation of the Interior Ministry that has paid a visit to Germany returned to Bucharest this afternoon.

Upon arrival at Otopeni Airport, Doru Ioan Taracila, the Romanian interior minister and head of the delegation, stated to the press that from the viewpoint of the respective ministry, complete willingness was shown to cooperate with the German authorities in order to identify the Romanian lawbreakers who had operated in Germany. The minister also mentioned that the alleged connection between those lawbreakers and persons who belong to structures of the current power has not been confirmed, and no names could be given or proof shown about the alleged connection between these lawbreakers and the Romanian Intelligence Service.

As far as the postponement of the act of signing the bilateral accord is concerned, the Romanian dignitary expressed his belief that this delay brings no prejudice whatsoever to the Romanian-German cooperation, because the cooperation has been properly working so far, ROMPRES informed us.

Iliescu Opens Revolutionary Organizations Congress

AU0912200895 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1700 GMT 9 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Today, the proceedings of the extraordinary congress of the National Union of the December 1989 Revolutionary Organizations opened today in Brasov. President Ion Iliescu attended the proceedings.

Invited to take the floor, Romania's president stressed the fact that this meeting takes place on the eve of the sixth anniversary of the Romanian revolution, an opportunity to draw a balance sheet of the road that has been travelled thus far and discuss ways for further actions that have to be taken to consolidate the processes of democratization of the Romanian society.

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Ion Iliescu also referred to the changes that have taken place in our country in these past years, emphasizing the revolutionary nature of the December 1989 events. He evaluated the Romanian society that prevailed before the December 1989 events—which was dominated by a totalitarian system—and the new realities prevailing in the recent period, when the rule-of-law state, the democratic state has been established in our country.

President Iliescu also mentioned that even now, six years after the December 1989 events, one can still notice actions aimed at denigrating the Romanian revolution. Further, President Iliescu approached several aspects of problems currently confronting Romania and said that certain macroeconomic stabilization attempts have been achieved just in the past two years and this stabilization is still very fragile.

In conclusion, the president congratulated the National Union of the December 1989 Revolutionary Organizations for the support granted to reviving processes in the Romanian society, to economic reform, and to solving social problems.

Prior to the opening of the congress proceedings, Romania's president laid a wreath at the cross in front of Brasov Prefect's Office that had been erected in memory of the heroes who fell in December 1989.

PMR Holds Conference, Adopts Electoral Strategy

AU0912204595 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1700 GMT 9 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The first national conference of the Romanian Workers Party [PMR] was held today at the Faur Cultural Club in Bucharest.

The conference proceedings were attended by delegations of the local organization from 10 counties of Romania and the Bucharest Municipality. The participants discussed and endorsed the party's political and electoral strategy presented by the president of this political formation Ion Cristian Nicolae.

On this occasion, the participants decided on the electoral tactics and strategy of the PMR and established the electoral sign of the party, which will be a red star.

At the end of the proceedings, an appeal was adopted addressed to all political parties and formations which are truly left-oriented to act jointly and to forget the ideas and concepts that separate them, and to place above all the general interests of the Romanian society, the need to pull the country out of the economic, social, and moral crisis it currently faces.

The Internationale, the anthem of the party, was played both at the beginning as well as at the end of PMR National Conference proceedings.

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Peterle Reiterates Insistence on New Government

AU0812163495 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1430 GMT 8 Dec 95

[Report by Sandi Frelih on news conference by Lojze Peterle, president of the Christian Democrats, in Ljubljana on 8 December — recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] Lojze Peterle, president of the Christian Democrats, says that cosmetic corrections are not enough. If we cannot agree on the change of direction, then we have only two possibilities — either to hold early elections or to do everything to change the government. We will be relentless in these demands. If the party itself were to leave the government, he said, mistakes would also occur in our departments — that is, in the departments held by the ministers of this party. What is currently happening is that some are trying to flee from responsibility.

According to Peterle, it is bad that the country's main concern is how the Liberal Democracy, the United List, and the prime minister will survive when the interests of Slovenia should really be at the forefront. The situation would change somewhat if the government parties were to honor the coalition agreement. As things stand now, the head of the coalition cannot find the time for talks with the partners. In response to the prime minister's blatant lies — that the Christian Democrats were only interested in cadre trading — he said that the party will illustrate the meaning of political fiefs with data at forthcoming news conferences.

Quoting the prime minister's statements, moralizing, and government measures, Peterle assured that we were lagging behind in our accession to Europe and that with such a lumbering policy, we will enter the European Union the one before last — namely, after the Yugoslav convoy and before Albania.

As for the TAM enterprise, Peterle said that what they had forecast was coming true. The time is ripe for replacements. The prime minister will do everything to have somebody else carry them out. All in all, the replacement of the economic and foreign ministers would only be cosmetic. If the president of the coalition honors the rules of the game, the party is willing to cooperate further.

Minister Urges Immediate Resumption of FRY Trade

AU0612171395 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1430 GMT 6 Dec 95

[Interview with Janko Dezelak, minister of economic relations and development, by Sonja Znidarsic; place and date not given—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Dezelak] What we achieved with the lifting of the sanctions yesterday is that we have facilitated the trade channels of normal conduct of business among the economic entities, which any government and any economic policy must strive to promote. This involves the opening of new export possibilities and activation of some still unexplored capacities in several economic branches in Slovenia. I can enumerate them: the electronics industry, textile industry, leather industry, and so forth. In short, there is a lot of this. Some opportunities are, perhaps, also opening for TAM enterprise on these traditional markets. Of course, the government cannot know this, nor does it have information about companies and their individual business results, as we are truly building a market economy.

Of course, we have warned our companies, and the Bank of Slovenia will especially urge them to use those instruments of payment that may be a little old-fashioned in origin, but which we will nevertheless have to resurrect to use again during this period. I am referring to various methods of payment in kind or exchange of goods for payment on the spot, by which all so-called uncommercial risks can be minimized.

[Znidarsic] Therefore, you do not approve of waiting with the implementation of the law [to suspend sanctions against the FRY]?

[Dezelak] I do not approve of any waiting, because what can the waiting bring? What are the economic benefits of waiting? We are waiting for the signing of the agreement in Paris, so we wait another 15 days, and so on. In the meantime, others who are already doing it before our eyes will do it instead of us, and to our detriment.

Debt Servicing Proposal Made to Creditors

AU0912204495 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1430 GMT 9 Dec 95

[Report by Uros Lipuscek from New York]

[FBIS Translated Text] Yesterday in New York, Finance Minister Mitja Gaspari and Slovene Bank Governor France Arhar presented to the representatives of the committee of 11 commercial banks, former Yugoslav

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creditors, an official proposal by which about 400 creditor banks would absolve Slovenia from a shared responsibility for the former joint, unallocated Yugoslav debt which amounts to approximately $4.5 billion.

According to the proposal, Slovenia would take upon itself approximately 18 percent of the said debt. The said sum would be reduced by the claims held by the Serbian banks that were over the past several years using the money of the former Yugoslav National Bank to buy Slovene enterprises' shares on the secondary capital market.

Our proposal will be accepted if confirmed by banks possessing two-thirds of former Yugoslavia's liabilities.

According to Slovene Finance Minister Gaspari, the fact that the second largest U.S. commercial bank, (?Chemical), which chairs the committee of former Yugoslav creditors, was yesterday the first commercial bank to accept the Slovene proposal represents a good sign. Namely, in banking, small banks usually follow the bigger ones, at least the experience so far speaks in favor of that. Contrary to some opinions in Slovenia to the effect that we have accepted to pay a too high percentage of the unallocated Yugoslav debts, at yesterday's meeting, some bankers asserted exactly the opposite, that is, that our percentage is too low. Among Yugoslav republics, Slovenia is, namely, the only solvent state. Some banking and political circles in Europe are of the opinion that Slovenia would have to pay 20-25 percent of the said debt. Despite this, the majority of our delegation believes that the commercial banks will nevertheless approve of the proposed arrangement. A bird in the hand is, namely, worth two in the bush, Slovene Bank Governor Franc Arhar says. The FRY and the other former republics will probably try to reprogram the said debt. Only Slovenia expressed readiness to service it and, therefore, open the door for itself to the international capital market.

Development Fund Head on Privatization Progress

AU0812105695 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 1 Dec p 3

[Report by Gordana Pipan: "Fund Completing Financial Rehabilitation; Privatization To Begin"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Ljubljana, 30 November—At today's news conference, Uros Korze, director of the Development Fund [which manages enterprises that failed to compile their own property transformation programs or were transferred due to irregularities in property transformation], spoke about the fund's work to date, its future tasks (the bulk of the fund's work is gradually shifting from the financial rehabilitation and restructuring of enterprises to the property transformation), and also about his resignation. As he said, he had already considered leaving the post of director in September. According to Korze, he will leave the fund at the start of the new year, and he has already spoken to the prime minister about it. He will determine the precise date of his departure with the managerial board of the fund, and he still has to send a formal letter of resignation to its president.

The reasons for his decision to leave the fund after being the director for five years are a combination of personal and professional reasons, he said. As it could be understood, among the professional reasons are primarily the differences between Korze and some members of the managerial board on the supposed role of the fund. His concept is that the fund should remain an autonomous and independent institution, while the decisionmaking about concrete cases should be professional. As he said, he did not experience direct political pressures, although the situation is worsening as the elections are drawing closer.

Korze also spoke about the fund's work to date. Of the 98 enterprises that have been transferred to the fund since 1992, 36 are still in its hands. Twenty-three enterprises were bankrupt and 35 were sold off. Many of the enterprises that are still owned by the fund have already been selling the stocks too, he said. The privatization of the remaining fund's enterprises is supposed to end by April next year, and the workers are expected to become the majority owners of these companies.

The project of the property transformation is, therefore, in its conclusive phase and one, thus, cannot expect any major rehabilitation moves in the enterprises that became its property in 1992. The losses in the above-mentioned companies totaled 630 million German marks [DM] in 1992, DM240 million a year later, and DM150 million in 1994. This year's losses are expected to be about DM40 million marks, according to Korze's estimates. Approximately 20,000 people have lost jobs in these enterprises so far, while 33,000 jobs were preserved. Since 1992, the salaries have marked an 80-percent real increase and had it not been for this hike, according to Korze, these companies could have been making profits this year already. Of the 36 companies still owned by the Development Fund, eight are expected to embark on the restructuring agreed by the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the Development Fund.

As Korze says, this was a crucial year for several companies that ventured into new investments, while some of the projects are ready for the new development phase in the coming year. Pursuant to the law on property transformation of companies and the law on privatiza-

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tion of companies owned by the Development Fund, 18 new enterprises were transferred to the fund's auspices at the beginning of this year. Four of them declared bankruptcy; the Rogaska Slatina spa attempted a compulsory settlement, which has already been completed successfully; in four companies, they realize compensation for the established depletion of social assets, while in six of the enterprises, this could not be achieved and they are now facing a court procedure (for example, Ona-On, Avtobusni Promet Murska Sobota). In the second half of the year, the fund received another 10 enterprises that will have to be rehabilitated.

Among other things, Uros Korze also said that we are about one third of the way into the privatization process (430 companies have completed the transformation) at the moment. From the privatization purchase prices, the fund paid approximately 8.5 billion tolars into the budget in September. The next payment, which will range between 3 and 4 billion tolars, is scheduled for the start of the coming year. There have also been three public sales of stocks owned by the fund in the amount of 24.3 billion tolars so far. The fourth is expected to occur on Monday [4 December] at which 152 packages of stocks worth 20.1 billion tolars will be put on offer. Sixty-two public sales of stocks have been completed so far, six are still underway, and 18 are in the process of being approved.

Korze also spoke about the financing of the new projects in which the Development Fund is taking part. According to him, eight investments have been improved so far and nine projects are just before the signing of the agreements. The value of the new investments is about DM51 million, and the fund is participating in them with a 20 to 30 percent share.

Changes to Foreign Ownership Rights Proposed

AU1112110895 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 1 Dec 95 p 2

[Report by Majda Vukelic: "Law on Foreigners' Ownership Rights To Be Amended Slightly"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Ljubljana, 30 November — Although the Slovene Government had forwarded a proposal of the law on ownership and other actual rights in the parliamentary procedure in May, it replaced it with the law on ownership and other actual rights at the session today. The government proposed to the State Chamber to withdraw the first proposal and discuss the second, which would mean the harmonization of the civilian and legal regulations with the Slovene Constitution and the legislation of the European countries.

The proposal of the law on ownership and other actual rights, among other things, also regulates the actual rights of foreign physical and legal entities regarding real estate. Here, the proposal departs from the still-valid constitutional ban whereby foreigners in Slovenia cannot own land. They can merely acquire housing rights, therefore, they can acquire the right to build and regularly use housing land and functional land, while the state becomes the actual owner of the building land — apart from the mere ownership, however, it has no other claims to it. If a foreigner subsequently sells or donates the building, the housing right ceases, and the party acquiring the building, if it is a domestic entity, gains the ownership right to the land as well as the building standing on it.

The transfer from the state to the new owner is automatic. The possibility of acquiring the housing right is, therefore, limited only to the building lands, as the law's purpose is to create the possibility for foreigners to acquire an ownership right to buildings required for the performance of their business activities. Only a foreigner who is indulging in business in our country can acquire the ownership right to the real estate (with the exception of land, of course). He must posses a permanent residence permit and must have resided in Slovenia for at least three years, which is the provision not contained in the previous proposal of the law.

As Justice Minister Meta Zupancic said at the news conference after the government session, the government decided for this variant after studying some of the foreign examples and establishing that they, too, contain limitations for the acquisition of the ownership and other rights, that is, that a foreigner must demonstrate a certain link with the country in order to acquire real estate.

The proposal of the law also introduces a special term — public assets — although the legal experts are not unanimous on its definition. According to the law, a public asset is an object or a group of objects that, by the virtue of their purpose, anyone can use under equal conditions, spelled out by the law. The object or group of objects that constitute the public asset is unalienable and cannot be used to benefit the third party, if the manner and the limitations are not defined by law. [passage omitted]

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Federal

Foreign Minister Interviewed on London Conference

AU0912213295 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 9 Dec 95

[Interview with Yugoslav Foreign Minister Milan Milutinovic by Nada Dragic-Radosavljevic, in London on 9 December — recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Dragic-Radosavljevic] What did the Yugoslav delegation insist upon in particular, as regards the implementation of the peace agreement?

[Milutinovic] We insisted on a number of questions. Of course, we initialed the Dayton agreement and in our opinion, the essence of the agreement should not be changed in any way. However, what we insisted upon in particular is an equal standing for all participants in the peace process in Bosnia and elimination of all consequences of the war. This was our basic request. Of course, an additional request, a very significant one at that, concerned Sarajevo, care for Sarajevo and its citizens, particularly in this transitional period and in the first months of the implementation of the agreement.

[Dragic-Radosavljevic] There was particular insistence — and Mrs. Ogata [UN High Commissioner for Refugees] insisted upon it as well — on the protection of the Serbs in Sarajevo. Are there any specific ideas about how this issue is to be solved?

[Milutinovic] Well, the ideas are not completely and finally specific. Several basic orientations were presented. Many delegates touched upon this same problem, of course in a more or less convincing way, and of course in a far less convincing way than our approach had. Nevertheless, this naturally concerns the issue of citizens' safety, their rights in full, and I think that we are going to find some solution to this issue very quickly. I hope that this will be before the Paris conference, or immediately after it.

Of course, the London Conference, considering the fact that it had 53 participants, was therefore a huge gathering which in fact did not adopt any conclusions that would be obligatory, but more represented a list of ideas and thoughts given there. Therefore, work is only facing us within the newly formed Council for Implementing the Peace Agreement, the council that we also joined, and that should in a certain way solve all these issues together with the commander of the peace forces there and the international peace forces, as well as the new commissioner for Bosnia- Herzegovina, Carl Bildt.

[Dragic-Radosavljevic] The close cooperation between the military and civilian aspects of agreement implementation has been greatly emphasized. What can this specifically mean in the transitional period?

[Milutinovic] In the transitional period, it could mean many things. Above all, it includes ensuring the security of the population. In the case of territories that are going to change occupants, this process should take place over a reasonable period — after all, the Dayton agreement envisages this period to be three months. Then, there should be no military along these separation lines, or new lines of division of two to 10 kilometers, and the like. Therefore, the population should be protected to the maximum and be able to turn to peace and work. That is the essence of the entire message of the entire conference.

Of course, the economic aspects of the agreements' implementation were also touched upon, however not in a way that would be very specific. It was agreed to hold a whole series of conferences in this respect. One conference will be held in Brussels at the end of this month. Of course, we will not take part in it, but the contributor countries will agree on the amount of resources to be collected and the way that will be done.

[Dragic-Radosavljevic] Ten minutes ago, French Foreign Minister Herve De Charette told journalists that he is very pleased. He thinks that the conference was very successful. Do you share this opinion?

[Milutinovic] Well, it is hard to tell whether it was successful or not. It was successful considering the number of participants. As I said, there were 53 participants, after all. There were in fact 40 countries. Considering this fact and the fact that different interests of these countries and individual groups and international organizations were involved, it was nevertheless successful.

Of course, it did not have any particular and great goals, but more had the point of maintaining the Dayton temperature and setting up some issues more precisely. However, what was precisely set was the public opinion of the participating countries regarding international organizations, the World Bank, the IMF, and everybody else to take part in Bosnia's reconstruction, so they would in a way also join in the debate on the peace process.

[Dragic-Radosavljevic] The FRY will make its full contribution to the implementation of the Dayton agreement.

[Milutinovic] Of course. In this resect, we have also received certain public and non-public recognition, as we had a great number of bilateral contacts with virtually all key personages and ministers at the conference here, above all with all Contact Group ministers and, of course, with former Yugoslav republics, so that, in a

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way, we had a good opportunity to determine a cross-section of ideas about the current situation regarding the peace process and where we are heading, when we are going to arrive there and how are we going to do so.

[Dragic-Radosavljevic] Thank you very much.

Holbrooke Holds Talks With Milosevic, Bulatovic

LD0912121095 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1113 GMT 9 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 9 Dec (TANJUG) — Members of the U.S. negotiating team led by Richard Holbrooke had a working breakfast with Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic this morning.

In a cordial atmosphere, and lengthy and frank talks, which were also attended by Montenegrin President Momir Bulatovic, satisfaction was expressed at the successful outcome of their common peace efforts.

Both sides also expressed their expectation that the process of establishing and strengthening peace, as well as the comprehensive normalization of relations and life in Bosnia-Herzegovina, would proceed successfully. All sides, including the United States and the FRY, should contribute to this process to the greatest possible extent through their constructive efforts.

Bulatovic: Serbs' Karadzic Will 'Probably' Resign

AU0812152495 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1430 GMT 8 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Montenegrin President Bulatovic stated today that the leader of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Serbs, Karadzic, will probably resign after the signing of the peace agreement. As he said, Karadzic cannot remain the leader of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Serbs bearing in mind his hitherto political activity.

NATO Assembly Delegation Arrives on 3-Day Visit

LD0912211895 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2051 GMT 9 Dec 95

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Dec 9 (TANJUG) — A NATO Assembly delegation, headed by the president of the forum, Karsten Fogst, arrived Saturday on a three-day visit to the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY).

The visit of the delegation, including parliamentarians from Germany, Spain, Great Britain and Canada, is made at the initiative of the NATO Assembly. The delegation will have a number of meetings with state officials, their hosts in the Yugoslav Parliament and representatives of political parties.

A delegation of the political-interparliamentary forum of the 16 NATO member-countries met Saturday with Yugoslav Deputy Foreign Minister, Zivadin Jovanovic, and an interest was expressed on that occasion in continuing and intensifying mutual dialogue, in view of supporting the peace process and stabilization in the region.

The need was expressed, on that occasion, for the impartiality of the multinational forces and of all other factors in the implementation of the Dayton peace agreement, the Yugoslav Foreign Ministry announced.

Hope was also expressed that the FRY would be fully reintegrated into international organizations as soon as possible, and especially in the U.N. and the OSCE [Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe], and that bilateral relations between the FRY and other countries would be fully normalized.

The FRY will continue to be a factor of peace and stability, and after the lifting of sanctions a growing factor of cooperation and of association in that part of Europe, the vice-president of the ruling Socialist Party of Serbia, Goran Percevic, said when he met Saturday with the NATO Assembly delegation.

Percevic and the NATO Assembly delegation discussed issues related to the building of collective security in Europe and especially the role of NATO in the implementation of the Bosnia peace agreement.

Draskovic Cites 'European Principles'

LD1012211695 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2101 GMT 10 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Dec. 10 (TANJUG) — A delegation of the North Atlantic Assembly currently visiting Belgrade on Sunday held separate meetings with leaders of the New Democracy Party, the coalition partner of the ruling Serbian Socialist Party, and the opposition Serbian Renewal Movement [SPO].

The New Democracy Party, whose president is Dusan Mihajlovic, said in a statement that the meeting focused on further development of democratic processes in Serbia following the Bosnia peace talks in Dayton, Ohio.

The press service of the Serbian Renewal Movement issued a statement quoting party leader Vuk Draskovic as saying to the delegation of the North Atlantic Assembly that a lasting and stable peace in former Yugoslavia could not be achieved unless European principles of state organisation and administration had been accepted.

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French MP's Frustrated By Impasse Over Pilots

BR0812155795 Paris LE FIGARO in French 8 Dec 95 p 10

[Report by Jean-Jacques Mevel: "The Pilots and the Wall of Silence"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Belgrade — Persuasion, diplomatic arm wrestling, threats — nothing has worked. Some 100 days since the Mirage 2000 pilot and his navigator were shot down near Pale, France has had no news of Captain Frederic Chiffot and Lieutenant Jose Souvignet, held prisoner by the Bosnian Serbs.

In Belgrade in the hope of obtaining "a solution as soon as possible," Francois Guillaume, vice chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee, said yesterday he feared he would be leaving Serbia empty-handed: "Many of our interlocutors here know no more than us, and I cannot say anything for sure." At least the Rally for the Republic deputy was able to pass on his message: "As far as France is concerned, this business must be settled, and it will determine the nature of future relations" between Belgrade and Paris.

Preferring to speak of a "conclusion" rather than "release," the vice chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee implicitly confirmed that the French still do not know whether the two officers are still alive. A similar tone was struck on the Serbian side, where they still speak of good will and patience. The number two in Slobodan Milosevic's Socialist Party of Serbia, Goran Percevic, told LE FIGARO: "Belgrade is doing as much as possible, first to ensure that the two Frenchmen are still alive, and then to obtain their release."

France holds the Serbian president responsible for the fate of the two men, and Jacques Chirac reminded him of this fact in a phone call on Wednesday [6 December]. However, late yesterday afternoon the Serbian president had still not given any sign that he would receive the French delegation.

The five deputies instead had to make do with a deputy foreign minister, federal parliamentarians, and finally with Patriarch Pavl, head of the Serbian orthodox church who himself admitted "I don't know anything about it."

Frustration

As a sign of their frustration, at least two of the five French MP's were openly threatening to leave Belgrade yesterday and go to the Bosnian Serb "capital," Pale, to find someone they could really talk to. Jean-Yves Le Deaut, socialist deputy for Meurthe-et- Moselle, asked rhetorically: "If Slobodan Milosevic won't receive us and we can't meet the kidnappers of the two Frenchmen in Belgrade, why did we come here in the first place?" The possibility of the deputies heading instead to Pale, which had been ruled out in principle by the French Embassy that morning, causes French foreign officials to break out into a cold sweat. Paris has always refused to "negotiate" with the self-proclaimed Bosnian Serb "Republic" and its "President" Radovan Karadzic, whom the international court in The Hague recently declared to be a war criminal. [passage omitted]

Information Tied To Cooperation

LD0812160595 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1514 GMT 8 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 8 Dec (TANJUG) — Pavle Bulatovic, federal minister of defense, had talks today with a group of French MP's on how to improve political, economic, and military cooperation between the FRY and France, the Federal Ministry of Defense's information service has announced.

The French parliamentary delegation asked Minister Bulatovic to help shed light on the fate of the two French pilots whose Mirage 2000 was shot down at the end of August during a bombing raid on the [Bosnian] Serb Republic.

The successful resolution of this problem, they stressed, would ensure a favourable climate for the establishment of comprehensive cooperation between the two countries and an improvement of the military-political position of the Serb Republic.

Minister Bulatovic said the FRY, motivated by political, humanitarian, and peaceloving reasons, is fully engaged in trying to resolve this case.

Increasing French Concern

LD0812235395 Paris France-Inter Radio Network in French 2300 GMT 8 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Regarding the fate of the two French pilots who went missing in Bosnia, the absence of information about them is increasing the concern felt by the French Government, and of course, by their families.

We do not know if they are alive, the Yugoslav foreign minister said this evening.

Five French deputies have also tried to obtain information in a mission to the area. Unfortunately they have not received any answer. Raoul Giraud Depaz has just spoken to one of them, Rally for the Republic [RPR] Deputy Francois Guillaume. He is the vice president of the National Assembly's Foreign Affairs Commission:

[Begin recording] [Guillaume] We do not have anything certain, because each time and wherever we have been

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told that they are probably alive — and this has almost been said as a certainty — each time that we have asked for tangible proof, some initial proof, we have not received a response. I do not think that there is any ill will on the part of the Serb authorities in Belgrade, because in Pale there is now total [word indistinct], that there are armed groups that are capable of holding the pilots and hiding them.

[Depaz] And what do you think about France's ultimatum?

[Guillaume] Things must absolutely be pushed forward so that the authorities in Belgrade use the appropriate means to obtain the necessary information.

In any case, it is Mr. Milosevic who negotiated Dayton, and it is he who will sign. It is on him that we should put pressure. [end recording]

Bulatovic Hints Pilots Are Alive

BR1112114995 Madrid EFE in Spanish 1122 GMT 11 Dec 95

[Unattributed report: "Defense Minister Believes Pilots Are Alive""]

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 11 Dec (EFE)— According to a statement by Javier Ruperez, vice president of the North Atlantic Council [NACC], who is visiting Belgrade, Pavle Bulatovic, Yugoslav (Serbia and Montenegro) defense minister, intimated today, Monday, that the French pilots who disappeared in Bosnia are still alive.

National Bank Official Receives French Delegation

LD0712235195 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2344 GMT 7 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Dec. 7 (TANJUG) — Vice Governor of the National Bank of Yugoslavia (NBJ) Zarko Trbojevic met on Thursday with a delegation of French parliamentarians.

The five-member delegation, composed of representatives of the ruling coalition and opposition parties and headed by Francois Guillaume, supported the process of normalisation of Yugoslavia's relations with France and the European Union.

The French parliamentarians discussed possibilities for promoting bilateral economic ties after the suspension of sanctions against Yugoslavia and said they would uphold any initiative for the earliest possible restoration of Franco-Yugoslav economic relations.

The delegation, which arrived in Belgrade on Wednesday, also said they would help create the necessary conditions for the financing of French exports to Yugoslavia.

Trbojevic spoke of the need for financial support to the second stage of Yugoslavia's economic revival programme which has significantly liberalised exports and imports and introduced a new exchange rate for the dinar.

He said foreign capital was vital for major infrastructural projects in yugoslavia, such as the development of the telecommunications and high-speed railway networks.

Board Formed To Return Displaced Serbs to Croatia

LD0812215695 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1828 GMT 8 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Dec 8 (TANJUG) — The Association of Refugees and the Expelled in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (F.R.Y.) formed Friday its board assigning it to work on the creation of conditions for the return of the displaced to their homes in Croatia.

According to figures by the Yugoslav Foreign Ministry (contained in a memorandum addressed to the United Nations), around 550,000 Serbs had left Croatia for the F.R.Y. since the spring of 1991, when Croatia began its war for secession from the then Yugoslav Federation. Also included in this figure are more than 250,000 Serbs expelled from the Republic of Serb Krajina (RSK).

Zvonko Tarle, a leader of this association, advised the board members of the talks held so far in the Hungarian city of Pecs with representatives of the Croatian Association of Refugees.

Attention at the Pecs talks had focused on the Srem-Baranja region (UN-protected Sector East and the only part of the RSK remaining under Serb control), because, as Tarle said, 'the fate of refugees' return to the (Srem-Baranja) region determines the fate of refugees' return to Croatia.'

Said Tarle, 'we have carried a joint declaration saying that there will be no return of refugees until after conditions are created for their unimpeded and safe return, in the first place, through the F.R.Y. and Croatia recognizing each other.'

He said a big problem was posed also by the Croatian authorities' attitude that the return had to be individual, which, as he assessed, would warrant no security to the returnees.

Tarle added that the association held that the refugees' return to Croatia had to be collective and the Croatian

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authorities had to guarantee them the same living and working conditions as to all citizens of Croatia.

Government Allocates 7% of GDP for Army

LD0812200895 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1432 GMT 8 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Belgrade, 8 Dec (TANJUG)—The federal government today drew up a draft federal budget law for 1996 at a session chaired by Prime Minister Radoje Kontic, the federal Secretariat for Information has announced.

Government spending in 1996 is set at 5.721 billion new dinars, which is 9.5 percent of the estimated gross domestic product.

As always, the largest funds from the federal budget are allocated for financing the Yugoslav Army. Seven percent of the GDP, or 4.215 million dinars, will be given to the Army. [passage omitted]

Mining Company Signs Accord With Greek Firm

LD0912132595 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1056 GMT 9 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Belgrade, 9 Dec (TANJUG) — Novak Bjelic, director general of the Trepca [in northern Kosovo] mining company, and Greek businessman Evangelos Mitilineos signed an agreement today on the export of Trepca products worth $50 million.

Present at the signing of this valuable deal were Federal Prime Minister Radoje Kontic, Deputy Prime Minister Jovan Zebic, and Tomica Raicevic, a federal minister and chairman of the Trepca management board, as well as Genex and Jugobanka representatives.

According to Bjelic, the Trepca products will be delivered over the next two years, and the deal is being "monitored" by our foreign trade firms Genex and Jugobanka, a representative of which was today handed a cheque for $5 million as an advance payment.

Bjelic, in a welcoming speech, said that even during the sanctions period business contacts had been maintained with the Greek company, which is owned by, and known as, Mitilineos.

"This is only one fifth of Trepca's planned annual exports," he said, and pointed out that production at Trepca's 13 mines would soon be boosted when two additional mines in Montenegro come on stream.

The deal specifies that Trepca will deliver significant quantities of lead, zinc, and silver to its Greek partner. [passage omitted]

Consultation With JUL on Privatization Questioned

AU0812113895 Belgrade NASA BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 7 Dec 95 p 6

[Commentary by Jasna Kesic: "Why JUL, of All Parties?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Was the National Bank governor, Dr. Dragoslav Avramovic, "killed by too strong words," or has the seasoned professor realized where the true center of power and influence lies? Probably only he knows the answer to this question, and the reason we are asking it at all is his statement that, on the subject of privatization, "we still lack the position of the SPS [Socialist Party of Serbia], while the stance of the JUL [Yugoslav United Left] has not been completely defined either."

It is perfectly understandable that the governor takes into account the opinions of the ruling Socialist Party, as whether the "democratization of the ownership relations" will take place at all and in what form depends upon that party. In a serious country, such a question would not be asked at all after the SPS-Srpska [Serb Republic, as published] and the SPS-Federal Government upheld Avramovic's Program 2, including the privatization. However, this does not necessarily mean anything in our country — the king said, the king can overrule. For that reason, Avramovic's concern about the privatization is perfectly valid.

However, why JUL? The economic program is a matter of "general significance" regarding all citizens, however, it does not merit a party plebiscite. One does not even need the consensus of all the parliamentary parties because it is not adopted by the Federal Assembly but by the Federal Government and the National Bank. If the intention is to hear as many opinions and views as possible, including those of the non-parliamentary parties, then a question poses itself — why JUL of all parties? Why not Milosevic's Serbian Liberal Party, Rakitic's Serbian Peoples' Party, Jovic's Party of National Revival, or Arkan's Party of Serbian Unity?

It would probably be a great mistake to seek the answer in Avramovic's partiality to JUL. In a recent meeting with the leaders of the United Left, he used a few "too strong words" that might have cost him dearly. First he said that "the concept of the social enterprises is preposterous" and then responded to Dr. Mira Markovic's [president of the JUL Directorate and Serbian President Milosevic's wife] statement that "JUL favors a strictly controlled market" by saying that "a controlled market does not exist, and one cannot play with prices as the consequences are catastrophic." This illustrates sufficiently how great the abyss between them

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is. Perhaps Dr. Avramovic is interested in JUL's views because its front ranks feature the directors of big social enterprises such as NIS Novi Sad, Srbijasume, Merima, Godomin, Azotara Pancevo, Heba, and so on, as well as several ministers in the Serbian Government, and that it doubtlessly depends on these influential people whether and how the program will be implemented?

The worst thing in the entire story is that, while the position of JUL is being acknowledged, nobody even mentions Montenegro, its parties, and its authorities! At least the public it not aware that the ruling Democratic Party of Socialists, or some other parliamentary or non-parliamentary party, has been consulted on the privatization, which is supposed to be regulated by the FEDERAL [preceding word in capitals as published] laws. Without the consensus of the Democratic Party of Socialists, this law will definitely not pass in the Federal Parliament, and it would, thus, perhaps also pay to take a little interest in their opinions on the subject. The comrades from JUL are not sitting in parliament yet.

Serbia

Commentary: Milosevic May Run for FRY President

AU1112091395 Belgrade NASA BORBA (Supplement) in Serbo-Croatian 2-3 Dec 95 p 3

[Commentary by Vojislava Vignjevic: "Early Elections Possible in the Spring?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] While ordinary people are still keeping their fingers crossed for the peace accord to succeed, anxious that some of the insane fanatics in Bosnia might pull a trigger even though the four years of war are finally behind us, the masters of the (local) authorities are working like crazy. Out of habit, behind a screen, using 29 November (state holiday of the nonexistent state) to inform the people about important decisions. That is, before the working people were to take a short vacation last week, they had a chance to hear on the radio and television the statement issued by the Main Board of the SPS [Socialist Party of Serbia] regarding the removal of some of the party's leadership. The time was carefully chosen because the newspapers had already issued their holiday edition, so the dry statement by the SPS was the only possibility for people to learn anything about the aforementioned event and its further implications.

The importance of the news is not so much in the removal of the former deputy chairman of the ruling party, Borisav Jovic, the former party ideologist, Markovic, and Vucelic, who was thought to have been written off even earlier. That was expected. For months, political forecasts had indicated that the Socialists' right wing would be removed after (or because of) Slobodan Milosevic's adoption of the policy of peace. What is significant about this is the announcement of the congress of the SPS. This, again, not because of the compulsory topic to be discussed (freely interpreted, Serbia in the year 2000), but because of the fact that the congress will "order" a change to the Constitution. What kind of change remains to be seen in early March, when the congress is scheduled to take place, but some possible moves by the Serbian socialists on the Yugoslav political stage are nevertheless possible to discern. At least when speaking about the federal state.

Although some well-informed circles in the Assembly maintained until recently that, in early December, the Federal Assembly will be introduced to proposals regarding the finalization of the peace process in former Yugoslavia, such a possibility has most probably been dropped. The reason does not lie in the fact that, after Dayton, Ohio, there will be the London conference and, in mid-December, the peace finale in Paris. The Socialists are neither willing nor ready to put up with annoying questions in the Assembly, such as why the war and the disastrous national policy they pursued were initiated in the first place.

On the other hand, legislative efforts are not being dealt with either. Even though all of the deadlines set for the adoption of key legislation (incuding the disputed legislation on holidays), without which there is no lawful state, have been exceeded, the Socialists still lack a two-thirds majority for the adoption of this legislation. Hence, the logical conclusion that the ruling party will announce the dissolution of the Federal Assembly and early elections.

The Socialists may be thwarted in their intention only by Seselj's Radicals, who will probably not miss a chance to demand a shift of the Federal Government, because, according to the Constitution, as long as such a procedure is under way, the Assembly cannot be dissolved. After all, the same move was made by the leader of the Radicals in October 1993, when Milosevic dissolved the Serbian Assembly, in order to prevent him from possibly dissolving the Federal Assembly as well.

However, what are even more interesting than the formal reasons for the dissolution of the Federal Assembly (and judging by its inactivity, it has already been dissolved) are the motives for such a move. One of the motives, in addition to the steady majority the socialists are counting on after the elections (obtained by involving the Yugoslav United Left and other satellite parties in the electoral race) may be the old idea of Milosevic becoming the head of the two-member federation. For precisely that reason, the early federal elections would

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be scheduled to take place after the SPS congress in March.

This idea was recently launched by Jovan Glamocanin, chief of the deputies club of Pasic followers [Nikola Pasic, prime minister of the Yugoslav Government in exile during World War II] to the Council of Citizens, stating that an initiative should be made to designate Milosevic president of Yugoslavia because of his role in the accomplishment of peace. And, because the Pasic followers hold mandates in the assembly owing solely to their loyalty to the Socialists, one can assume that this is not only a contest with another initiative, by the Socialists in Nis (a proposal by Mile Ilic that the president of Serbia should be nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize). In the past, several moves announced by Glamocanin and his Serbian Radical Party of Nikola Pasic (former supporters of Seselj) were subsequently implemented by the Socialists regarding some other important questions.

Given the fact that (instead of the removed Jovic) the post of second deputy chairman of the SPS has been given to Zoran Lilic, current head of the federal state, it is possible that the socialists are preparing him (Lilic) for some other role in order to clear the office for Milosevic.

However, what remains doubtful in the context of such cadre shifts is the attitude of the Montenegrin leadership because it is quite improbable that the president of Serbia would take up the office of FRY president without securing for himself on the federal level at least similar levers of power to those he has on the republican level. Judging by the increasingly open tendencies shown by Montenegro through independent, recognizable moves in foreign politics and the economy, the entire matter can hardly pass without major arguments and without calling into question the already fragile relations in the federation.

It is enough to recall how POBJEDA, the official organ of the DPS [Democratic Party of Socialists] of Montenegro, reacted last June to the proposal by the democrats' leader, Zoran Djindjic, that Milosevic should be designated president of the FRY, while Djukanovic [Montenegrin prime minister] and Bulatovic [Montenegrin president] should share the functions of prime minister and governor of the central bank. "Djindjic's pragmatism is undeniable, as is the fact that, in the game of political weathercocks, he has been scoring quite good results recently because he always has a piece or two of information more than his rivals and is hoping that the wind coming from the Socialists' right wing would also blow a little in his sails," POBJEDA's editorial stated. The point of the editorial was also this: "Djindjic obviously sees that the matter (Milosevic's coming at the helm of Yugoslavia) is also being considered by other circles circles that are far more familiar with the constitutional clauses according to which the president of Serbia can run for only two terms in office and that, behind all this, a redefinition of the FRY Constitution is looming."

SLS Deems Dayton Accord Suitable for One Season

AU1012213795 Belgrade NASA BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 8 Dec 95 p 4

[Report by "D.P.": "Dayton Accord Is a Suit for Only One Season"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade—All facts to date say that the Dayton accord resembles a suit tailored for only one season, to fit the U.S. elections, and that sooner or later there will be war in Bosnia-Herzegovina again, Nikola Milosevic, president of the Serbian Liberal Party [SLS], said at a news conference yesterday.

The SLS leader said that the Serbs in the Serb Sarajevo have many reasons to be very concerned "because it is known that, in the Muslim part of Bosnia, to which they should now belong, Sheriat law is in force and soldiers are greeting each other with Allah Akhbar."

Zoran Cvijic, president of the SLC Executive Committee, said that the Liberals have invited the Belgrade Circle of Independent Intellectuals to attend a roundtable that would discuss a united or divided Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Mr. Miladin Zivotic replied to our letter through the public media, which is inappropriate, and rejected that discussion because, in his opinion, now is not the right time for new divisions." If the other side has nothing to say, it is clear how "strong" the idea on united Bosnia is, Cvijic pointed out.

The Liberals are of the opinion that the program of Avramovic [National Bank governor] will not curb inflation over a longer period and that "the extent of success of Program 2 does not lie in the fact that it will be followed by Program 3 but in its own achievements."

Coalition Partner Wants Serbia To Join PFP

LD0912204395 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1954 GMT 9 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Dec 9 (TANJUG)—The leader of New Democracy (ND), Dusan Mihajlovic, a minority partner in the Serbian Government of national unity, urged Saturday the consistent implementation of the Dayton peace agreement.

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'Nobody has the right to obstruct the implementation of the agreement reached with the UN, the USA, the EU and the Russian Federation, after so many unnecessary human casualties and material destruction', Mihajlovic said at the end of the two-day assembly of New Democracy in Belgrade.

Mihajlovic said that New Democracy will advocate Serbia's joining the NATO programme 'Partnership for Peace' (PFP), because it has become a part of European integration.

A NATO assembly delegation, led by President Karsten Fogt, is expected on Saturday on a three-day visit to the FRY. The visit is considered as exceptionally important in view of the political and other structures that it represents.

Milosevic's Wife Discusses Cooperation in Belarus

AU1012214795 Belgrade POLITIKA EKSPRES in Serbo-Croatian 8 Dec 95 p 2

[Article by Djordje Milosevic: "Both Sides Wish Better Cooperation"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] At the invitation of Lomonosov State University, the Russian Academy of Sociological Sciences, and the UNESCO International School for Sociological and Social Sciences, Belgrade University Professor Dr. Mirjana Markovic [Milosevic's wife] paid a several-day visit to Moscow. [passage omitted]

Dr. Mirjana Markovic also paid a one-day visit to Minsk, which was filled with meetings with political personages and leading Belarus academicians.

Immediately upon arrival in Minsk, Dr. Mirjana Markovic was received by Belarus President Alyaksandr Lukashenka. On that occasion, opinions were exchanged about a series of specific issues of economic, cultural, and other bilateral cooperation.

During a friendly and substantial exchange of views, Belarus President Alyaksandr Lukashenka and Dr. Mirjana Markovic, who is also president of the Directorate of the Yugoslav United Left, assessed that in the part of the world to which the two countries belong, one can feel a lack of resistance to manipulated and artificially imposed political, economic, social, and other changes. Peoples in this part of the world have succumbed to such processes and now, being discontent, are seeking a way out of this situation imposed on them by various circumstances.

That part of the world has no reason to feel historical and civilizational inferiority toward anybody. It used to be superior to many states and peoples in many spheres of life. This is admitted even by those who usually find it difficult to admit such things.

Although it was short, the Belarus visit was not only substantial but also significant from the general point of view. During many contacts in Minsk, political personages, academicians, and scientists expressed great affinity toward Yugoslavia and wish to develop cooperation.

We have learned from Belarus sources that there is readiness and interest in this country in establishing full political and economic relations with the FRY. People in the know have told us unofficially that there are considerations in the respective bodies in Minsk about opening diplomatic missions in Belgrade and Minsk in the near future. According to these indications, the FRY should be the first country on the territory of the earlier Yugoslavia with which Belarus wants to establish such relations.

Serb-Croat Oil Company Talks Under Way

AU0712211995 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 7 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] [Announcer] Recently, some very interesting information was released to the domestic and international public; namely, a meeting was held between representatives of the Serbian Oil Company [NIS]—that is, Jugopetrol—and the Croatian national oil company INA. The meeting was held in Zagreb. We asked NIS Jugopetrol manager Dragan Tomic whether this was correct.

[Begin Tomic recording] This is correct. We believe that, following the lifting of sanctions and the UN Security Council decision, our country can once again take its position on the international markets. Therefore, we are negotiating with numerous countries, but we primarily believe that it is good for us to negotiate with our immediate neighbors. In this respect, we have held and shall continue to hold talks with high-ranking INA Zagreb officials. The talks are in progress, and we expect positive results by the end of this week and in the course of next week. [end recording]

Talks End Successfully

LD0812185595 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1813 GMT 8 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 8 Dec (TANJUG) — Talks between the NIS' [Serbian Oil Industry] Jugopetrol and the Zagreb-based INA [oil company] on trade in oil derivatives, crude oil, and other goods used by NIS and its business partners, were completed successfully at the NIS Jugopetrol premises in Belgrade today.

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The deals will be implemented in December 1995 and January 1996, the statement says.

It was also agreed that talks should continue on long-term cooperation which is to start at the beginning of 1996, the statement adds.

Montenegro

Bulatovic Views Post-Sanction Economic Prospects

LD0812223095 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2129 GMT 8 Dec 95

["Ecopool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Podgorica, Yugoslavia, Dec 8 (TANJUG) — Montenegrin President Momir Bulatovic said here on Friday that the Nov. 21 peace accord on Bosnia-Herzegovina ushered in a new and civilised era after a brutal and senseless war.

Bulatovic was in the delegation of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Federation of Serbia and Montenegro) to the 22-day talks in Dayton, Ohio, USA, where the peace accord was initialled, and should attend the formal signing ceremony in Paris on Dec. 13-14.

Bulatovic was speaking in a meeting with managers of Montenegro's state-owned and private companies at the republic's chamber of commerce.

The meeting, attended also by Montenegrin Premier Milo Djukanovic, discussed business possibilities in the wake of the Nov. 22 suspension of the United Nations' comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against Yugoslavia after three and a half years.

Bulatovic and Djukanovic said that the year 1996 would be the year of actual and total privatisation in Montenegro.

Bulatovic said that an essential compromise would be struck shortly at federal level that would speed up the privatisation process in Yugoslavia.

The market and privatisation will further consolidate the integration of Serbia and Montenegro, not divide them, he added.

Bulatovic and Djukanovic said that the Yugoslav Government's economic revival 'Programme 2', adopted in late November shortly after the suspension of the sanctions, had certain weaknesses and did not fully meet the requirements for economic recovery.

The programme has significantly liberalised imports and exports and set a new exchange rate of the national currency — the dinar.

It was devised by National Bank of Yugoslavia (central bank) Governor Dragoslav Avramovic, who was for years an advisor at the World Bank in Washington.

Djukanovic said that the chief shortcoming of the programme was that it had not clearly defined the attitude to privatisation.

Montenegrin Chamber of Commerce President Vojin Djukanovic said in his report that Yugoslavia had two economic systems existing side by side — the one in Montenegro that was market-oriented and the one in Serbia, where a transformation had virtually not begun at all.

On Thursday, Governor Avramovic said at a Yugoslav economists' symposium in Belgrade that the country had no choice but to carry out radical reforms.

The economists said in a message to the people on Friday that the national economy's stabilisation in 1996 must rest on a new profit- motivated and market-oriented economic system with clearly defined ownership relations.

Prime Minister Expects GNP to Rise by 30%

LD1112124795 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1147 GMT 11 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Podgorica, Dec. 11 (TANJUG)—The Montenegrin GNP should rise by 30 percent in 1996 in comparison with 1995, Montenegrin Premier Milo Djukanovic has said.

Djukanovic said that this was the strategic aim, which had realistic chances for realization following the suspension of the sanctions against Yugoslavia.

Speaking at a meeting with Montenegrin businessmen, Djukanovic said that Montenegrin economy was in a condition of readiness.

The Montenegrin premier said that time was ripe for companies to stop counting on the state, which he said would no longer give aid to which the economy had been used to so far.

Djukanovic said he expected that the economic growth would be spurred on by maritime and tourist industries. He said that priority projects were the reconstruction of the railway line between the Montenegrin capital Podgorica and the town of Niksic and activation of a Montenegrin air company.

He said that it was necessary to reach an agreement with Serbia on the construction of a highway between Belgrade and the Montenegrin section of the Adriatic coast.

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Serbia and Montenegro make up Yugoslavia.

First Loan Agreed With UK Since Sanctions End

LD0912154095 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1512 GMT 9 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] London, Dec. 9 (TANJUG)—The representatives of Yugoslav maritime company Jugooceanija, of the Montenegrin Adriatic town of Kotor, in London on Friday contracted a British loan amounting to 15 million dollars which will enable Jugooceanija's ships to set sail again.

This is the first British-Yugoslav financial agreement following the suspension of the U.N. sanctions on the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, the director of the Montenegro Bank in Britain, Jovan Mihajlovic, told TANJUG on Saturday [9 December].

The Yugoslav delegation in London included Montenegrin Vice-Prime Minister Krunislav Vukcevic and Jugooceanija director Milivoje Jaukovic.

The two sides also agreed on the re-financing of Jugooceanija's earlier debts to Britain worth 5.7 million dollars. Under the agreement the British funds will be invested in the rehauling of ships and for obtaining international permits for their commercial use.

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